

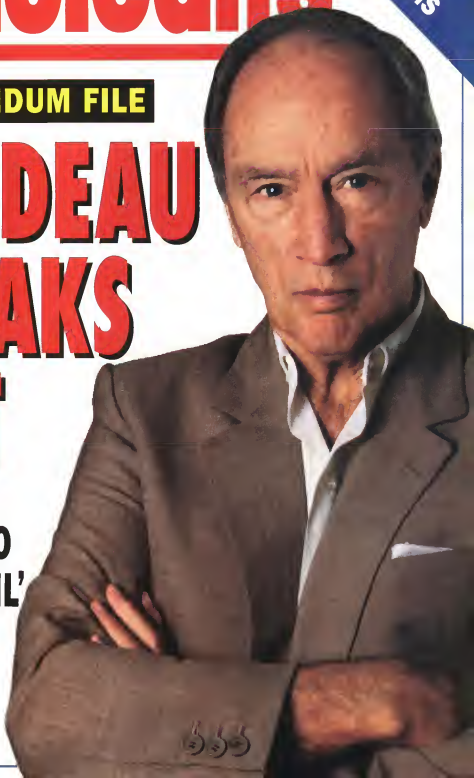
BASEBALL'S
SEASON
OF DREAMS

Maclean's

REFERENDUM FILE

TRUDEAU SPEAKS OUT

**SAY 'NO' TO
'BLACKMAIL'**



The Package



Your finances should be this civilized.

With Royal V.I.P. Service® your personal finances can fall into perfect order.

VIP® was created to give you control and financial flexibility in a unique, comprehensive package.

VIP begins with the personalized attention of a VIP Account Manager who is dedicated to meeting your financial management needs.

The many convenient services available through VIP include a Personal Credit Line, with immediate access to \$5,000 or more, depending upon your requirements.

Then there's Royal Bank Visa® Gold with all its privileges, including Royal Rewards merchandise and travel rewards, and another automatic extension of \$5,000 in buying power.

In addition, you'll benefit from a VIP Daily Interest Chequing Account, with overdraft protection of \$5,000.

These and many other valuable VIP entitlements are yours for a single monthly fee that may even save you money.

For additional information, simply dial 1-800-668-7247, between 8 a.m. and 8:30 p.m. (E.S.T.) any weekday. We'll take your name and number and a VIP Account Manager will contact you within two working days.

Very civilized.



ROYAL BANK

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
SEPTEMBER 28/1992 VOL. 152 NO. 24

CONTENTS

2 EDITORIAL

4 LETTERS

10 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

A Russian keynote official sums a low blow at his president, the U of T's centennial feels its trace Nobel, Moscow shoplifters adopt a startling new tactic, drug allegations curtail a beauty pageant; the CMC appeals to its staff for help faced with dropping sales, the big brewers are courtng women drinkers; a medical lobbyist gets caught in the cross fire.

13 COLUMN/FRED BRUNING

14 CANADA

In the wake of damaging revelations in Quebec, Ottawa's "yes" co-ordinators prepare to launch their campaign; the RCMP opens an investigation after an explosive kilo-see gold mine in Saskatchewan.

22 COVER

33 PEOPLE

34 WORLD

Canada joins a massive airlift of supplies to drought-stricken Somalia.

36 BUSINESS

The end of the Cold War has deprived Western nations of their main reason for economic co-operation, on the eve of a critical referendum in France, a currency crisis sends shock waves through the European Monetary System.

46 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

48 SPORTS

54 OBITUARY

Paul Martin, an outstanding diplomat and politician, was an old-style grassroots leader; Bruce Hamilton, author of *The Unknown Country* and co-founder of prize publishers, dies at 91.

61 FILMS

Three of the most talked-about movies at the Festival of Festivals are now opening at theatres.

62 BOOKS

John Ralston Saul condemns the dominant elites of Western culture for betraying the societies they were meant to serve.

64 GUEST COLUMN/STEWART MACLEOD

COVER

TRUDEAU SPEAKS OUT

Former prime minister Pierre Trudeau has appealed to Canadians to resist Quebec's constitutional demands. Any attempt to appease the nationalists, Trudeau writes in a Maclean's essay, "will simply encourage the master Markushians to renew the threat and double the ransom." But another veteran, former Ontario premier Bill Davis, argues that Trudeau's views reflect "the prejudices of the past." — 12



SPORTS

SEASON OF DREAMS

The Toronto Blue Jays, who captured the American League East crown last year only to lose out in the playoffs, stood atop their division

again, while the upstart Montreal Expos were making life uncomfortable for the National League East-leading Pittsburgh Pirates. As the season slid into its fabled fall pennant drive, baseball fans in Canada were permitting themselves an improbable dream: an all-Canadian World Series. — 48



A Chance For Greatness

This week, the campaign for the Oct. 26 referendum on the Constitution begins in earnest. Political leaders, members of special-interest groups, union leaders and others will cross the nation opposing or supporting the latest constitutional deal. In this issue of *Maclean's*, Pierre Trudeau, a member of the constitutional team himself, breaks a long silence and speaks out forcefully—and exclusively—on the issue. In the process, he provides Canadians with a powerful, elegant argument for saying "no" to any new constitutional concessions to nationalist demands from Quebec. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney declared an intention to present the case for the "yes" side to the constitution, citing pressures on his time. But the writing stands. Meanwhile, former Ontario Conservative premier William Davis, who was steeped in constitutional negotiations for a decade until the mid-1980s, agreed to set out the counterargument to the "no" proposition. He did—with power and grace. In the weeks ahead, Mulroney will invite other knowledgeable Canadians to present the arguments for and against voting for the agreement. Former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, for one, will write an essay for the issue dated Oct. 19.

In fact, there are many profound flaws in the current package—and in the whole dreary process over many years that led to it. Among these: instead of creating an unifying structure that fosters the free development of every individual regardless of race, gender, religion or other classifications, it encourages special rights for groups defined by their special interests. It also tends to freeze the status quo in the crystal of 1982. But for all that, a country exists coast to coast that is a free, more or less equal, good-faith nation that is not a written agreement. Only the intangible sense of wholeness, an inner fragile and brittle, maintains the integrity of a state. The risks from a "no" vote are calculable: the costs and dangers for future generations too large to ponder. A "yes" decision offers at best a tiny opportunity to realize the nation's greatness. Every Canadian deserves that chance. For that reason, Canadians should vote "yes."

Kevin Whelan



Parliament Hill: the sense of wholeness, fragile and brittle, maintains the integrity of a state

PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

Maclean's

MACLEAN'S WEEKLY PUBLICATION

Editor: Kevin Whelan

Managing Editor: Helen Lewis

Executive Editor: Carl Hovell, John Walker

Assistant Managing Editor: Richard Bennett, Peter Macdonald

Art Director: John Turner

Senior Contributing Editor: Peter G. Newman

Senior Editor: Alan Levy, David Lewis

Section Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Senior Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Video Competition: Billy Bost

Assistant to the Editor: John Lewis

Assistant to the Managing Editor: John Lewis

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Executive Editor: John Lewis, Bruce Wilson (Politics)

Buy Power Smart Products and Save.

All across Canada the switch is on to efficient Power Smart products. People like the idea of helping the environment while they pocket the savings on their energy bill. Well, here's something you'll like even more. This Fall, retailers will be offering their biggest

selection of Power Smart products ever, along with some very special prices. Look for Power Smart displays at your favourite store. And start saving.

For more information, call the Power Smart member utility nearest you.

Alberta Power Limited	1-800-427-7612
B.C. Hydro	1-800-665-5421
City of Calgary Electric System	1-800-248-1022
Manitoba Hydro	1-204-418-3886
Metrolinx Electric	1-800-666-1596
New Brunswick Power	1-504-454-4444
Newfoundland Power	1-902-822-1718
Northwest Utilities (NWT) Limited	1-403-614-6576
Quebec Electric Power Corp.	1-514-681-4712
SaskPower	1-800-388-2184
Trans of Saskatchewan P.E.I.	1-902-428-4222
Yamalo-Nenets Corp.	1-800-551-7612
West Kentucky Power	1-800-915-7750
Windsor Electric	1-519-256-2136
Yukon Electric Corp.	1-800-627-7612
The Yukon Electric Company Ltd.	1-800-627-7612
Central Gas British Columbia Inc.	1-800-389-2226

POWER SMART.
Utilities Dedicated to Energy Efficiency.

OCTOBER IS POWER SMART MONTH

LETTERS

'Lessons of history'

Apparently undisturbed by the lessons of history, and despite critical economic conditions in Ontario, Premier Bob Rae permits in putting otherwise discarded ideologies ahead of pragmatic policies to safeguard the rapidly declining economic base of Ontario ("Bob Rae's revolution," *Cover*, Sept. 14). In contrast, the other 100 premiers, Michael Rempel and Roy Romanow, focus their policies on creating an economic climate more favorable for economic recovery, and postpone ideology until their provinces can afford them. Rae should call an election to confirm that he has the mandate of the majority of Ontarians to carry on with such risky social experiments.

Walter Jenczewski
Oshawa

It is astonishing that someone has finally noted in print how dangerous and divisive the 1991 proposed employment equity legislation will be. Institutionalizing reverse discrimination will not reduce the inequities of the past. Employment equity, as it has been proposed in Ontario, is discriminatory and will only lead to even more racial tensions. Perhaps Premier Bob Rae should consider this fact and work to ensure that one group is not discriminated against in the hope of addressing the grievances of others.

Joan Powell
London, Ont.

'Apartheid province'

I work at a corporation run by the Ontario government from which I recently received an "affirmative profile form." The form asks me to report where I am. To make me sure, it lists a sample of places of origin for each race. The "West Asian" race apparently included Israeli and North Africans. My father comes from a Jewish background and my mother was born and raised in Italy. In fact, I should report myself as West Asian although my skin is white! How confusing. In this government form, how bizarre. Indeed, when the next provincial election comes along, I will remember that it was Bob Rae and his New Democratic Party that, by way of utterly misguided legislation, made Ontario an apartheid province.

David Silver
Toronto



Premiers Hickey, Rae and Romanow: two approaches to ideologies and policies

A resounding yes or no

I intend to vote "no" to the question posed in the referendum ("Opening up," *Cover*, Sept. 14) because I believe that the significant reached on Aug. 28 constitutes the possible breakup of the Canada that I proudly call home. I have yet to see anything in it that could contribute to the strength of Canada as a whole. If I were to be asked whether I want to keep Quebec as a part of this country, my response is a resounding "yes."

Donald Hickey
West Haverhill

Why should we in the West help pay the cost of raising a national referendum? The size of the vote in the entire four western provinces cannot even overcome the vote in Toronto and Montreal, let alone Ontario and Quebec. If all they want to know is what the majority of Canadians favor, then cut out the B.S. and just hold the vote in Toronto and Montreal. One does not have to be a rocket scientist to figure out that they are going to vote "yes" to giving themselves all the cookies in the jar.

Ray Jones
Winnipeg

Because I love my country, I don't want to vote "no" in the coming referendum. But by voting "no," I am not rejecting Quebec nor my roots. Mulroney spent hundreds of millions of taxpayer dollars to find out what Canadians wanted in the Constitution. But what did he do, with the approval of all our premiers? They put a show on, but went behind closed doors to renege. Much LaSalle without due regard for what Canadians felt then.

John Freeman
Scarboro

To the average Canadian, the proposed constitutional changes are unimportant. After absorbing many months and spending millions of dollars on "public consultation," I challenge any first minister to provide evidence that this new deal improves the lives of the average citizen in any practical way, rather than creating a power shift for the political elite.

Derek King
Kingston, Ont.

Muddled justice

What hope is there for a country with such muddled thinking as ours when a lesson of history is treated like a lie? This is what has happened with the Supreme Court acquittal of Ernst Zundel ("The right to lie," *Justice*, Sept. 7).

Kathleen Lyons
Oshawa, Ont.

Significant reform

Peter C. Newman comments ("Saying 'yes' to Canada's destiny," *Business Week*, Sept. 14) that "the only significant political movements to come out on the negative side of the referendum question have been the Parti Québécois and the Bloc Québécois." In the Reform party not a significant political movement? It may need more than Newman's bland assertions to sell the "yes" vote, let us have some facts.

M. J. de Meulstael
Toronto

Letter was forwarded. Please reply to: address and telephone number. Write Letters to the Editor. Mailed magazine: *Business Week* Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. Or fax 416-593-7770.

See The Best in Golf

Johnnie Walker® World Championship



You could win a trip to Jamaica to see the Johnnie Walker World Championship

There's more to life in Johnnie Walker World Championship than in 36 strokes to win. In 1991, you'll get to attend the Johnnie Walker World Championship in Jamaica. December 20-25, 1991. (winning prize: \$10,000). To participate, I understand that I must be 21 years old, a resident of a Johnnie Walker country. To participate, I understand that I must be 21 years old, a resident of a Johnnie Walker country. To participate, I understand that I must be 21 years old, a resident of a Johnnie Walker country.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
Postal Code _____
Telephone number _____

If you are a resident of Quebec, you may also participate by visiting us at the following address:

Johnnie Walker
World Championship Centre
P.O. Box 100
Montreal, Quebec H3C 1K2



Johnnie Walker Red Label

The World's Most Popular Scotch

WE BELIEVE
WHEN YOU BUY A NEW CAR,
THE LAST THING YOU SHOULD BUY
IS THE CAR.

1

First, hear the clanking behind the car. Read on.

2

Buy the thinking that engineered a new 36-valve 120HIC, 120-horsepower engine. The most powerful standard engine in its class, and one of the most fuel-efficient.

3

Buy the thinking chair shaped a sedan big enough to be comfortable without being uncomfortably big. It seats five in available wood-trimmed elegance and you can park it anywhere.

Buy the safe thinking behind
child-proof locks, a driver-side airbag and available ABS brakes.

6

Buy the responsible thinking that created a quarter cat with CFC-free air conditioning and environmentally friendly water-borne enamel paint.

6

Buy a brand of thinking that believes women should
 joined the people who drive the cars, not the people who make them.
 This thinking has a name: The Nissan Satisfaction Commitment.SM

7

Buy the thinking behind the company
that lets you have all of the above from \$16.990*



BUILT FOR THE HUMAN RACE

8

Clay you've bought the clunking
Now drive the rat

9





There is a one-time service fee and a recurring monthly charge. Some restrictions may apply.

MAGLEBY, S. J. SEPTEMBER 28, 1995

OPENING NOTES

Telephone follies, shoplifting in Moscow and a heady new trend

Hitting Below The Belt

Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello will soon have to prove that he is a master in the art of self-defense. Accused last month by a secret congressional committee of using his office for personal profit, the beleaguered 43-year-old leader is looking all attempts to appease him. And the pugnacious Collor launches a thing or two about fighting. After all, he holds a black belt in karate.

Does he? While federal investigators say that they have linked the president to a complex scheme of a thousand peddling and kickbacks, Brazilian karate officials, in an effort to dissociate Collor from their martial art—which stresses a strict code of honor—have questioned Collor's claim to the black sash of high proficiency. According to Nelson Dantas Guimarães, a regional director of the Nacional Brazil Confederation in the southern city of Porto Alegre, Collor's black belt is not registered with the national body and is leading to all affiliates. Guimarães, himself the holder of a fourth-degree black belt, says that the president is officially registered as having only a purple belt—two levels below black. And even if Collor's black belt turns out to be legitimate, Guimarães claims that the president has alienated several "vassals" against the code set by Japanese karate masters, including arrogance, deception and greed. São Gonçalo's "El Collor" were in Japan, he would have to conduct his own.



PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Hostile Takeovers

Since the fall of Soviet communism almost two years ago, hundreds of unlicensed book and clothing stores have sprung up on the broad sidewalks of Moscow's main roads, housed in massive cargo containers and former newspaper kiosks. Now, however, Moscow's small-scale capitalists are being hit by a shock-up—in its most literal form. Working in the dead of night and sometimes using crates, thieves have stolen entire stores and their contents, after which they set up shop in other parts of the city. Two container stores and 125 kiosks have disappeared overnight from the main city streets in the past six months. Saul Vladimirov, director of the Russian interior ministry's recently squad "Sometimes they will repeat the outside, and they usually use the store's name before receiving for business on the other side of Moscow." With Russian police having solved only half the total 23 million criminal cases of 1991, many would be entrepreneurs clearly believe that shoplifting, Moscow-style, is an easy way to get into the retail trade.

Tarnished Glamor

Long the name of the Olympics, performance-enhancing drugs now appear to have tarnished the luster of the annual Miss America Pageant. A contestant at last week's semifinal and finalist contest in Atlantic City, N.J., told reporters that at least two of her teammates to acquire diuretics—drugs that cause weight loss by stimulating urination—to help them achieve a more perfect form. Carrie Lee Davis, a physician who was competing as Miss South Carolina, claims that two pageant entrants—wants—declined to name them—but asked her to provide the drugs. Added the cautious doctor: "I said, 'No, these drugs are terrible for you.'"

Operator: "Who?"

Dorothy Johnson: "John Polanyi."

Operator: "Who's he?"

Dorothy Johnson: "A Nobel Prize winner in just Chemistry department."

Operator: "Sorry I got nothing under Model."



PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

PAGING MR. NOBEL

Contributing Editor Ann Dowsett Johnson, who is co-ordinating Montreal's upcoming issue on Canadian environmentalists, called the University of Toronto last week to speak with John Polanyi, one of Canada's best-known scientists, a professor at U of T's department of chemistry. Polanyi received a Nobel Prize in 1986 for his research into infrared chemistries.

DETAILS AT 9?

The CBC's announcement last month that it was revamping its 9 p.m. nightly news and current affairs package into a single hour-long program on 9 p.m. set off widespread speculation about the format of the new show. But with only about a month to go before the program debuts on Oct. 24, CBC executives still have not worked out the details.

Last week, Tony Burman, chief news editor at The Netwest, sent a memo to all CBC news staff to select their advice in the arena. Burman lists several "wording as surprises," including the plan that the "9 p.m. 'Hour'" will be rooted in TODAY, but in the broadest sense, "and then finish with a plus." "So if you have any thoughts about how the new 9 p.m. should be organized—or what kind of program it

should be, and what kind of treatment and priorities it should emphasize—please message [Burman's e-mail] John Owen directly this week with your ideas." He's open to any and all contributions. "According to a high-ranking network insider, CBC executives are considering launching the 9 p.m. program on current affairs, leaving traditional coverage of news events to the Newswatch channel, which is available only to cable subscribers. Another staffer involved

in the discussion said that the 9 p.m. hour plan is far from complete. There are still scraps fighting for their share of the program." And at the very end, CBC vice-president of news Tim Kitchell weighed in with another memo to staff: "Let me put one nonessential rumor to rest right off the top," Kitchell wrote. "The news will continue to be on at 9 p.m. and at 10 p.m. After all, our news and politics."



SUDS FOR THE SEXES

At first glance, the advertisement for Molson Canadian seems designed to appeal to late-potting males. One in a series linked to the Summer Olympics, the ad features "The Canadian Synchronized Team," two curly, hip, identical models posed in a pose that is neither male nor female, but, however, is clearly aimed at another audience. "The general feeling expressed by most viewers 'it's, 'as if that man just can't get that act together.'"

"Another Molson ad, to some television and spring, will also be geared towards the female market. Although Molson officials say that they have been targeting both sexes for years, analysts contend that beer ads placed recently at women are part of a new trend. Brewers have been hit by a decline in consumption. Canadian drink the equivalent of 10 billion bottles of domestic beer in 1992, down from 14 billion in 1987. "The industry is facing a shrinking market," says Michael Palmer, an analyst at Seamus McCarthy Securities Ltd. "They're looking to attract women and they're trying to get away from the old 'bad' routine."

PASSAGES

CLOSED! The Ottawa studio of renowned portrait photographer Naama Harsch, after 40 years of high-end work, is closing its doors. Harsch, who has worked for a slew of world leaders, including Winston Churchill, and has photographed such 20th-century artists as Ernest Hemingway, Albert Schweitzer, Albert Einstein, André Breton and Nelson Mandela. Harsch, 68, insists that he is not retiring, but simply making more time for other ventures. Before Christmas, he plans to open exhibitions of his work in New York City and Tokyo, but says that he hopes leave remains Ottawa.



SHED: Former Molson's deputy chief marketing officer Bud Cox, 35, of an AIDS-related illness, is a Toronto hospital. Cox, who worked for Molson in 1980 and in 1989 went to CBC TV as a news anchor, he worked as a member of the Toronto staff and is a writer for the Ottawa Star column.

RECOVERING: French President François Mitterrand, 75, from surgery on an enlarged prostate. The doctor later announced that they had discovered cancer in the prostate, but that the cancer probably is not dangerous. The leader of the extreme-right National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen, provoked the "yes" vote by declaring that the issue of Mitterrand's cancer was intended to influence the referendum on European union.

SHED: Master down Lou Jacobi, 89, whose face was the Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey Circus longtime emblem, of cancerous lesions in Saratoga, Fla. Jacobi posed Ringling Bros. in 1925 and performed with the circus, dubbed The Greatest Show on Earth, until he retired in 1955. Jacobi's face appeared on a U.S. postage stamp in 1966.

SENTENCED: To three years imprisonment and a \$240,000 fine, Madame Chabot, 69, who once headed France's largest call-girl network, for re-establishing a prostitution gang. Chabot served a sentence during the 1960s and 1970s for operating a brothel called "Le Jardin" that included several hundred heads of state among its clients.

MOSCOW.

Be there with Maclean's ... for just 77¢ a week

"I climbed onto a green T-72 tank to listen..."

Malcolm Gray will never forget 3 chaotic days in August, 1991!

As the coup in Moscow unfolded, he found that clambering atop an army tank was just the start of his adventure.

Standing in the crowd in front of the besieged parliament building, he watched Moscow's youth build barricades from commandeered city buses ... waited for the rumored KGB "attacks" that never came ... and met heroes like the 23-year-old sergeant who convinced the crews of 10 armored personnel carriers to mutiny.

Quite a story! And the kind of coverage you can expect from Maclean's every week. With a team of over 100 professionals like Malcolm Gray covering the stories in Canada and around the world, you're always informed, involved, and right where the action is.

Maclean's gives you the analysis, commentary and coverage that you need. Enjoy an in-depth look at the business world. Find out what's hot in books, film, the arts. And meet some of today's most intriguing people, from politicians to movie stars.

There's no easier way to visit Moscow ... or the world.

Subscribe now for just 77¢ a week, and save 2/3 off the \$2.25 cover price. *That's like getting every 2 out of 3 issues free.* Order Maclean's today!

Maclean's

CANADA'S FAVORITE NEWSMAGAZINE



Malcolm Gray
Maclean's Moscow Bureau Chief

**FOR FASTER SERVICE
FAX 1-416-596-2510**

Maclean's

for just 77¢ a week

YES! Put me right where the action is every week!
Send me 1 year of Maclean's (12 issues) for just \$30 (45¢/copy).

Name

Address

City Province

Postal Code

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

☐ Charge ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express

Exp. Date

Exp. Date

Signature

☐ Please check if this is a renewal

Clip & mail to: Box 5063, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 2B8

Offer valid only in Canada until December 31, 1991

Quickie order: phone call 1-877-551-5511

AN AMERICAN VIEW



Baseball and politics—lessons in hardball

BY FRED BRUENING

Any discussion of American politics in this bleak presidential year might reasonably begin with the insouciant ways of Jay Byrnes, depicted comically in *Hardball*. A hapless romantic, Byrnes felt obliged to keep both with the firm—to defy popular concern and imperial ambition, to resist standards of decency and fair play as proposed or through he were a student of a person named Tom. It wasn't his lot, but his most valuable natural resource, he seemed to be, was his wit.

Byrnes is shown by petulant soldier-bosses who obviously consider the game a commodity no more unique than pork bellies or flowers. Vincent learned that a terrible gap lies between the world as he perceived it and the world as it has become. Though struck extremely to learn the so-called last minutes of baseball, the commentator discovered his real job was to keep his lip shut as millions of citizens, away from the limelight, waited and waited and waited himself with emotional aspects of his post. In other words, he was supposed to be more Queen Mother than Top Gun.

Known as a volatile and brooding figure, Vincent at first said that he would please for once to the Supreme Court if necessary, but at last relented and took leave. Baseball had no need of him. The good guy came in last. Baseball's position was free to advance their own interests. The game suffered a heavy hit. And the last? The last he learned, was the word that went forth: The loss will take what they get and be happy about it. They will go back to their seats and wait. They will endure patience and talent and heavy losses. They will stand and that's up!

And here is where the story of Jay Vincent intersects the dramatic conclusion called *Campaign '92*. Just as baseball's owners for years have been selling a vulgar product and calling it superb, legitimate politics can be

In big-league politics, citizens are just saps coming through the turnstiles. They pay top dollar for hardly a thrill.

own version of the same vulgar game. Underlying the efforts of President George Bush and senator chief executive Bill Clinton is a simple central notion: that you can look enough of the people enough of the time to see yourself last number year at the White House. Lacking vision and courage, the candidates resort to self-realization of the most outrageous sort. They stand out prominently as much as were Clay Day at the local ball yard. They don't listen and talk around parties, and blabber the opposition. And they tell us that it will very, very good.

Anything new here? Aren't politicians congenitally predisposed to the old vulgar game? Haven't they always been? That they always be? Of course the system demands some amount of dissimulation and the public is reliably aware that presidential campaigns are as much about theatre as political science. We get bored easily, anyway, and haven't much patience for Aristotelian discourse as the balanced budget discourse or the changing role of NATO. And, this year's campaign is proving more absurd than most—a strategy of extravagance that crowds out the Reagan show down with certain glossy aspects of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's mass weddings.

Some of the results are hilarious, and a good

thing. We would do a quick and common death of Bush and Clinton did not on a regular basis associate their own absurdity. Look at the Harry Truman angle, for instance. Here we have Bush, a New England aristocrat who made his money in Texas oil, announcing to supporters that he is the second cousin of Over-the-Hill Harry. No matter that Truman was a well-known Democrat of humble origins. No matter that Bush says that he voted for Thomas Dewey, not Harry Truman, in 1948. No matter that Margaret Truman said that she cut for the life of her figure out what is going on—perhaps George Bush passing himself off as her mother-in-law's father.

Clinton also portrays himself in Trumanesque terms and says that he cares deeply about the little guy. If he cares so deeply, one might ask, why does he support the death penalty, which surely snuffs the poor? Why, he says, years of private campaign about minority issues, but he not compensated civil rights during the campaign? Why did he countenance a Democratic convention that crowded shamelessly about middle-class issues and individual responsibility—coded messages to conservative Democrats who stayed out of the clutches of Reagan-Bush over the past 12 years?

This sort of stuff has become standard operating procedure and, joking aside, the influence isn't huge. Honestly the best policy? Not in 1992. Victory is the only objective and anything goes. The Bush camp is the one that Clinton is a no-nonsense citizen who can't be treated because he managed to avoid the army during Vietnam. Clinton says that Bush will slash Medicare and jeopardize student loan programs and suggests the President is solely responsible for America's economic woes when, in fact, most of the industrialized world is scoring double-digit GDP.

On balance, Clinton comes across as kinder and gentler, but, like Bush, the Arkansas member refuses to tell Americans what they don't want to hear—about the deficit piled up in the last 1980s, the economic stagnation for the first of this decade. New taxes are inescapable. Clinton knows it, but pretends he can cure it all simply by seeking the rich. Bush knows it, but pretenses a supercut, across-the-board tax cut. To the final crunch, \$25,000 a year, this great gift from your President would amount to less than 1% a week. Meanwhile, we would sink deeper in debt by half a billion dollars a year.

While the candidates to their soft shoes, a private, bipartisan committee called the Clinton-Graham working on a statement intended to provide the public with the signs and all devoured, outbursts, and perhaps expenditures on the nation's economic infrastructure, possibly a consumption tax. Do we see Bush or Clinton seriously addressing these important issues? Do we have a measure, sensible exchange on how best to reduce this huge country's debt? No. But, hey, what's the beef? In big-league politics, citizens are just saps coming through the turnstiles. They pay top dollar for hardly a thrill. Misery you want to pay for man.

Fred Bruening is a writer with *Saturday* in New York.

OPENING JITTERS

As he rose to begin his eight-hour speech of the day, Health Minister Benoit Boivin was visibly exhausted, his voice strained and hoarse. In earlier appearances before college students and other young Quebecers along Montreal's south shore, Boivin's role for a "yes" vote in the Oct. 26 referendum on constitutional reform had been cast with skepticism and, on occasion, hostility. But the 250 people who gathered in the strongly nationalist Montreal suburb of Beauharnois last week were middle-aged, middle-class and more receptive. In a hotel room lined with Conservative posters and photographs of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife, Mita, they applauded appreciatively while Boivin, Labor Minister Marcel Desrosiers and junior employment minister Monique Wilson praised the new proposals. Declared Boivin, who supported sovereignty associations in the 1980 Quebec referendum: "If the 'yes' carries the day, I will not feel any less a Quebecer by being called Canadian."

That public appearance marked the unofficial launch of the federal government's Quebec campaign to win the Châteaufortville accord. It also sent a strong signal that the "yes" side was preparing a full-scale effort to counter growing resistance to the proposal in Quebec and pockets of the rest of the country. This week, Mulroney will make quick election-campaign-

THE 'YES' SIDE FIGHTS BACK AFTER A SHAKY START TO THE REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN

style visits to British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec to promote specific aspects of the proposed reforms. Meanwhile, Conservative Affairs Minister Joe Clark continues to crisscross the country, and External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall will stress the need for Canada to ratify the accord during a scheduled appearance this week before the 75 General Assembly in New York City. And Mulroney has learned that this week the federal "yes" committee will announce the appointment of a group of prominent Canadians, including former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed, former UN ambassador Yves Fassin, and former Supreme Court of Canada justice Bertha Wilson, as advisory members.

For most of last week, however, the still nascent "yes" campaign appeared to be splintering. Acknowledged one Mulroney associate: "There is no question that the 'no' people have made a lot more noise than us so far." That pattern continued with Reform Party of Canada Leader Preston Manning, for one, challenging Mulroney to a TV debate on the accord. Organizers for the "yes" campaign worried those slow starts on a combination of complex legalities and the delicate sensibilities involved in building a coalition involving different political parties, as well as business and labor groups that are usually split at odds with one another. Said one "yes" committee organizer: "It is not always easy making arrangements that satisfy everyone from [Liberal MP] Sheila Copps to [Reform Minister] John Crosbie."

It is Quebec, where the referendum will be run under provincial rules, that the "yes" committee's efforts are handicapped by the organizational weakness of all three major federal parties. Of the province's 75 federal ridings, 56 are now held by the Conservatives. But much of the Tories' organizational support during general election campaigns comes from members of the Parti Québécois—who will be working against them in the referendum campaign. The federal New Democratic Party is almost nonexistent in the province—indeed, the provincial NDP broke with the national party last year and supports the "no" side—and the once-powerful federal Liberals have only skeletal organizations in many ridings.

Premier Robert Bourassa's provincial Liberal



Boivin campaigning in Beauharnois, Que.: 'Feeling more Canadian'

are responsible for co-ordinating the "yes" campaign, but they also face internal problems. Several prominent Liberals have already announced their intention to work for the "no" side. Although Liberal organizers say that there have been relatively few such defections, there is widespread disappointment among party members over the constitutional deal.

By contrast, Mulroney's nationalist Quebec caucus—which has been notably silent on many issues in the past—appears to be strongly supportive of the package. Said one Tory cabinet minister: "It is very encouraging—and frankly a bit surprising—in us how well that support is holding." Even Defence Minister Marcel Masse, who is disliked outside his home province because of his nationalistic sentiments, is expected to deliver several highly public speeches in behalf of the agreement.

The Tories also hope to ward off the impact of Ed Québec Premier Lucien Bouchard by having popular Reform Minister Jean Charest follow him on speaking engagements. Charest, a favorite of Mulroney, is said to be excited because he feels betrayed by the former Tory cabinet minister's

conduct during the unsuccessful campaign to revive the Meech Lake accord in 1990. At the time, Charest chaired a parliamentary committee that was trying to save the accord, and relied heavily on Boivin for advice. But as spite of their close working relationship, Charest later told friends, Bouchard gave him no advance notice when he suddenly quit the Tories and bitterly denounced the Charest committee's work. As Charest once told an acquaintance: "The bestest cover had the guts to say anything to my face."

Outside Québec, the principal challenge facing the "yes" faction is the widespread public cynicism towards politicians. Mulroney's advisers acknowledge the danger that if he takes too active a role in the campaign, Canadians could see the referendum as a vote on his leadership—with potentially disastrous consequences. But there is also little enthusiasm in much of the country for other federal or provincial leaders.

Said New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna in an interview: "Most of us are a lot more popular outside our home provinces than we are in them." As a result, much of the "yes" committee's efforts will be aimed at winning

Widely: unsatisfactory



THE NARPS TAPES

Interior Minister Michael Wilson said that his department has terminated its contract with an Ottawa-based transcription service after Mulroney's published portions of a taped, transcribed telephone conversation among senior government advisers (Mulroney's, Sept. 21). That conversation revolved around the government's strategy to counter opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement—and will be made to Canadians.

ENDING THE BARRY BOMBS

The House of Commons passed Bill C-80, which will end Canada's 17-year-old universal family allowance system, expected to cost \$1.9 billion in 1992. In its place, the government will introduce a new program, Jan. 1 that is intended to simplify other things, direct more money to the working poor.

THE BACE BOMBS

Former Calgary mayor Ralph Klein became the first declared candidate in the race to succeed Alberta Conservative Premier Don Getty, who is stepping down by the year's end. Klein, now the province's environment minister, has often been the center of controversy—in the early 1980s, he caused Calgary's high crime rate on "bustling streets and bars" who had moved to the city.

HOLDING ON

Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon's Conservatives maintained their slim legislative majority by winning one of five provincial by-elections in the last week of the Winnipeg riding, while the Tories held Portage la Prairie. The Conservatives now have 26 seats, compared with 20 for the Liberals and seven for the NPD.

RAIL UNDER FIRE

Provincial Liberals and Conservatives attacked Ontario Premier Bob Rae's decision to appoint 24-year-old David Egan, his principal secretary and former campaign manager, to the province's top civil service job. Critics charged that the appointment of Egan, who has worked for Rae for the past 13 years, is a sign of the premier's intention to politicize Ontario's \$2,300-million civil service.

ELECTION IN THE YUKON

Yukon residents will go to the polls on Oct. 19 to vote for a new territorial government. Governor-in-Liaison Audrey Prescott's New Democrats, who hold nine of the 16 seats in the legislature, have been in power since 1985.



CANADA WATCH

Senators resigned under duress in the final hours' work of the Oct. 26 referendum debate as Premier Robert Bourassa attempted to land off charges that his efforts are primarily motivated by last month's Oka riotous constitutional revolt—and his performance at the negotiating table. The government has published reports of a telephone conversation between two senior Oka civil servants, apparently taped without the knowledge of either one.

● **Confidential Affairs Minister Joe Clark said**

that although he is willing to entertain demands by the cabinet that they be resigned in the Oka crisis, no changes will be made in the cabinet until after the Oct. 26 referendum.

● **Western Canada ministers for the referendum will vote plain from Oct. 2 to Oct. 7.**

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"It was as if someone broke into my office, cracked the safe and made the contents public. A robbery of my mind has been committed."

David Mulroney, Quebec's outgoing deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs, after speaking out last that his telephone conversations had been taped and published.

support from local political leaders, and service groups that are usually apolitical.

In Quebec, Bourassa's new credibility was unevenly tested last week by successive leaks to the media that suggested that two of his most senior advisers were privately disappointed by the accord. In a conversation apparently taped without the knowledge of either participant, David Wilentz, Quebec's deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs, and a second, unidentified adviser, agreed that Bourassa should have walked out of the negotiations rather than accept the package. An unidentified source gave the tape to Quebec City radio station CMC, which broadcast it, prompting another Wilentz obtained a Quebec Superior Court injunction preventing its broadcast or publication. But *The Globe and Mail* subsequently published excerpts from the transcript in its editions outside Quebec, and within a day, photocopies of the article were selling on Montreal streets for \$5 a copy.

Later, a series of Quebec media outlets simultaneously obtained a limited report of remarks made by Andr  Tremblay, one of Bourassa's principal constitutional advisers, as a private meeting with officials of the Quebec Chamber of Commerce on Sept. 14 to his appearance. Tremblay said that Bourassa was so exhausted during the final stages of the negotiations that he was unable to understand and speak English clearly. Late last week, Tremblay insisted that his remarks had been taken out of context, and he demanded the accord. He also declined to confirm or deny

whether he was the unidentified person in the taped conversation with Wilentz. Quvering with emotion, he bitterly criticized the media for making his private remarks public, declaring, "I feel that I have been raped."

Similarly, the federal government was forced to defend itself against an opposition assault early in the week. Following the publication in *Maclean's* of a transcript of an Aug. 26 conference call at which senior aides to federal cabinet ministers discussed Ottawa's strategy to win support for the North America Free Trade Agreement. No sooner had that controversy begun to fade than Quebec's largest

women's organization released a transcript of a conversation in which the principal adviser to Secretary of State Robert de Gooze threatened to cut off the group's federal funding if it did not renounce its support for Quebec sovereignty. De Gooze later said that the call was a "misunderstanding," and that the group would keep its federal funding of \$108,000.

These incidents left supporters of the "yes" campaign politically bruised. In addition, they face the challenge of winning over many Canadians whose minds apparently have been made up without considering the accord's contents.

In one fiery exchange at a junior college in St.-Hyacinthe, Que., a university-transfer student told *Maclean's* that the proposals were "shit," and angrily challenged her to explain how they would help Quebec. Scapped *Maclean's* "Set down for a couple of hours and read it. At least you will be opposed to something you have understood." For both supporters and opponents of the accord, that clash underscored the danger that the referendum campaign will be dominated far more by passion than by reason.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH
with GLEN ALLEN in Quebec
with LORNE FISHER
in Ottawa

not agree with MNC's concerns, the group's supporters should not be branded as traitors. Rebick told *Maclean's* that following MNC's "no" announcement, aides to federal Secretary of State Robert de Gooze, whose department contributes \$300,000 to the group's \$1-million annual budget, asked for updated copies of its membership list and internal constitution.

But Rebick, who turned over the material

"What are they going to do with—give grants to the 'yes' supporters?"

For her part, MNC supporter and Charlottetown lawyer Daphne Dumont said that she will vote "yes" in their referendum—but with deep reservations. "I continued not to bring my out without raising the issues," Dumont said. "It is only the voters and scrutineers who ever achieve change. Smart women never get women anything." By raising its voice against the constitutional accord, however, MNC has placed itself against many of its traditional allies.

B. KAYE PULTON with LORNE FISHER
in Ottawa



Rebick: "We are suddenly treated like pariahs."

old as leading on the same side as the Bloc and Reform—other than having feminists working on two sides of an issue," she said. "We are suddenly treated like pariahs."

The clash of feminist legalists and nationalist nationalists has clearly unsettled MNC's membership. Said Malena Jaffer, a "yes" supporter and founding president of a B.C. organization that represents non-white women: "Women's organizations cannot sit back and say that we talk for all women." For her part, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall told *Maclean's* last week: "I joined the MNC as an MNC member organization to save the post, not to have MNC speak for me."

Still, many feminists say that while they may

WOMEN WHO COUNT

Issues are as good as dead as a distraction. On Sept. 14, the country's most powerful feminist organization, the left-leaning National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), publicly joined the separatist Bloc Quebecois and the right-wing Reform party on the "no" side of the Oct. 26 constitutional referendum campaign. NAC, which claims to represent almost three million people in 360 women's organizations, says that the constitutional accord threatens the hard-fought rights of women and minorities by, among other things, allowing the provinces to opt out of national social programs.

But many prominent feminists say that they are outraged that Canada's largest women's group appears to be placing its own interests ahead of the future of the country. Said Deputy Liberal Leader Sheila Copps: "You don't throw the baby out with the bathwater. Are we going to be further ahead as a country if this thing dies or is they should?" NAC president Judy Rebick, meanwhile, acknowledged that her group's demand that the deal be rejected has put it in a awkward position: "Nothing can be as

YOUR PASSENGER'S SAFETY SHOULD NEVER BE AN OPTION.



The knowledge that you are protected by an air bag is a comforting thought. But what about the safety of your front seat passenger? * Well, it's no problem if you're in the 1993 Acura Legend Sedan. It's one of the only cars that offers you air bags on the passenger's and the driver's side as standard equipment. Along with the added safety of Anti-Lock brakes and advanced seat-belt pre-tensioners. * Of course, another feature of interest is the 3.2 litre, SOHC, 24-valve V6 engine. It delivers a generous 200 hp along with a 60/40

weight distribution for optimum handling and performance. * All of which combine to make the 1993 Legend Sedan one of the finest driver's cars on the road. And one your passengers will find pretty comforting too. * To test drive the 1993 Legend, see your nearest Acura dealer today. * For complete information, including the Acura 5-year/100,000 km warranty (whichever comes first), call 1-800-263-2828.

1993 LEGEND SEDAN
ACURA
PRECISION CRAFTED PERFORMANCE
Secure your future. Reimagine your past.

Death in the deeps

The RCMP investigates a gold mine tragedy

In Yellowknife, some residents said that there was no cause, no tension in the mine, only the distant rumour of fire engines before the last report that an explosion had torn through the underground. Gold mine on the outskirts of the Northwest Territories capital. Nine men died in the blast, which occurred at about 4:45 a.m. on Sept. 18. The fire underground in an enormous tunnel sent in to transport miners to the floor. The tragedy capped an often violent, four-month-long labor dispute that has pitted 240-armed strikers against Vancouver-based Royal Oak Mines Inc., the mine's owner, and up to 150 replacement miners brought in by the company to work during the strike.

And within hours, the RCMP launched what it called a "criminal" investigation of the explosion—heightening speculation that the deaths may have resulted from an act of sabotage. Said Michael Maguire, president of the Northwest Territories Chamber of Mines: "It was either deliberate—or somebody did something really stupid."

Some territorial government leaders left little doubt that they believed the blast to be deliberate. "Evidence suggests that the explosion was of a criminal nature," said Tony Whitford, minister of safety and public services. Spokesmen for the Canadian Association of Statisticians and Allied Workers (CASAW), which represents the striking miners, angrily denied any complicity in the explosion. "Miners underground depend on their partners for their lives. You would not blow up other miners, even if they were selfish," union strike co-ordinator Harold David said in an interview. David claimed that the explosion may have occurred while the replacement miners transported explosives, contrary to regulations, and added: "The investigation is an overt government attempt to undermine by mine officials as well as its acts by miners."

But in Yellowknife, where the strike had already polarized many residents, such accusations had little to ease the strain. The blast occurred at a nine-month-old mine, begun as discontent in the gold workings about a metal ore can powered by a battery-operated mine locomotive. "There was nothing to give first aid to," said one rescue squad member. "Only one body looked like a corpse." Two of the dead men were from Ontario, a third from New Brunswick. The remaining six were all Yellowknife residents—six of the streets of the city before quickly gave way to violence

Fights broke out between union members and those supporting the scabworkers, leaving one man seriously injured. "He was hamburger—in was just meat," said Steven Pajurok, manager of the Galaxy bar. The Galaxy had another bar frequented by miners closed early in an effort to avoid further unrest. A beer bottle thrown through a window of the union had resulted in eight injuries to two women, while David reported that some union members had received death threats. Someone spray-painted "CASAW kills" onto one wall of the union's strike headquarters. Through it all, the threat of further bloodshed continued to

home after a bomb threat. On another occasion, angry miners allegedly accosted the son of one management member in his car and threatened to kill him. Once the strike began and Royal Oak brought in strikebreakers, management and strikers engaged in rock fights. Union members attacked a bus carrying replacement workers out of the mine. One RCMP officer was attacked with a baseball bat during a picket line altercation and other officers had to fire warning shots into the air.

Power lines mysteriously went down or were short-circuited—causing blackouts in Yellowknife as well as in the mine. According to a union bulletin distributed to members after one such accident, "Those peaky domed night ravens screeched up the power again last night. It's tough to run a mine without power, so these mysterious failures are actually our allies." And last week's explosion was not the first. In July, a blast damaged a satellite dish at the mine. On Sept. 1, another explosion went off inside one of its buildings,



The Giant gold mine: a bitter strike and a mysterious explosion that left nine dead

hang over the city. "People are depressed," one Yellowknife woman told Marlowe. "Families worry about their safety. This place is too small to hold its own."

The history of the strike certainly underscored such fears. When contract negotiations began in January between Royal Oak and CASAW, they quickly disintegrated into bitterness. The union demanded better pension benefits, increased safety measures and wage increases of up to 16 per cent. The company said that falling gold prices had drastically affected its earnings, and insisted that workers curtail their demands. With the talks approaching breakdown, the agencies that came to characterize the strike began to call before miners took to the picket lines on May 23.

On May 17, the RCMP evacuated the mine's general manager and his family from their

damaging the mine air-circulation system.

After last Friday's explosion, nearly 200 union members continued to man the picket lines at the mine's entrance. "It hurts," stated one striking miner as two Canadian flags flattered furiously at half-mast. "I lost friends among those guys who died." Added another: "This has split the town in half. I feel sorry for my kids—they got handed. I was a little scared for myself coming out here this morning." That fear may increase in the days ahead as a special RCMP team of 10 employees experts launches its investigation and Yellowknifers wait for an answer to the dreaded question: was the explosion an accident, a result of negligence—or cold-blooded murder?

PETER ROYALISM with JANE MORSE in Yellowknife

IT'S ALL THERE IN BLACK AND WHITE



EVERY YEAR THE COMPETITION GETS TOUGHER SO WINNING TAKES MORE SPEED AND STAMINA.

WHEN THE DEMAND CALLS FOR INCREASED PERFORMANCE AND THE CHALLENGE IS GREATER RELIABILITY, THAT'S WHERE YOU FIND CANON NP COPIERS.



Grand Prix winner
Jordan's strategy lap
speeds of 134.2 km/h (Jordan lap
with team like 1:41.14). One Jordan
NP Copier, the 9800, can turn out
125 copies in less than that.

Daring drivers play a constant arena of new technology, check what you need not only to win but just to stay competitive in Formula One racing. We like that kind of contest, so Canon has sponsored an F1 team since 1984.

It takes people who live and respond to challenge along with continual innovation in technology to get ahead and stay ahead in the copying competition—a field where we take pride in some remarkable achievements.

Today Canon has the largest installed base of black and white, plain paper copiers in Canada.

Twenty years ago, it was a whole new technology—a breakthrough in the laboratory which our people translated into commercial copying equipment in record time.

New Process immediately set new standards, not only for image quality but for dependability, too.

In fact, the line of Canon NP Copiers soon became widely recognized as the leader in copier reliability—a position we still hold today.

The next challenge was to take Canon NP reliability and match it with top speeds needed for high volume copying.

In other words, deliver NP's outstanding image quality a whole lot faster without sacrificing any of NP's traditional reliability.

In big companies, high volume copying is a way of life and that takes high-volume finishing. The Canon NP 6000 offers a choice of finishing options: in twenty-five copies, this roller-to-group copier, enables twenty-five copies to be made which can single sets of up to 30 sheets into documents which are ready to distribute. If that's not enough capacity, tandem copiers can be configured to let you program up to 999 sets of copies in one line.



It all adds up to better images, less downtime, more productivity where copying volumes are greatest.

Now that Canon NP copiers have pulled away from the field in overall performance, what are we doing to hold onto the pole position?

We're investing millions of dollars in basic and applied research—\$884 million in 1991. And its paying off. In 1991, Canon registered 823 patents in North America alone.

Canon is pioneering the use of fuzzy logic in copiers—the new math which lets computers go beyond binary or black and white logic to work with shades of gray. We have the first copier which uses fuzzy logic to control the imaging process for better quality and to control the paper path for more reliability.

Digital. The one word everyone uses when talking about the office of tomorrow.

Canon already sells a digital copier that will be next.



Just for your business and for 2,300,343,423 and we'll send you information. For long-term, all the features and advantages of Canon NP Copiers. You could visit an official Canon Williams team jacket.



worked with lawyers, printers and computers.

What's more, Canon has been combining digital with analog technologies in copiers for some time. Take the Canon NP 4800—a combination of digital and analog capabilities lets users enhance documents with a feature called Free Hand Editing.

The Canon NP series of copiers can be combined and configured in at least sixty different ways to produce copying systems that satisfy the widest range of needs with unparalleled efficiency and reliability.

A better way to copy begins when a Canon representative comes into your office, assesses your copy needs and then makes specific recommendations to improve productivity or cut costs.

However, many people like to start by reading about the operating characteristics, the different features and advantages of two or three NP models. We have a series of product brochures that will let you do just that.

To urge you to act now, we're offering a special incentive. For every demonstration of a Canon NP Copier between now and the last day of 1992, you have an opportunity to win 1 of 200 official Canon Williams team jackets.

To get the information that will get you started—go with the winning team and fax your business card to us at 1-800-563-4238 or call 1-800-387-1241 for your local Canon NP Copier dealer.

THE ULTIMATE IN SPEED AND STAMINA;
TODAY AND TOMORROW.

Canon
NP COPIERS



Really strong from the ground up, the Canon NP 4800 provides a fast, smooth and dependable 80 copies a minute with a best copy rate of 11 seconds. All that power comes with a control panel which makes even the most complex copy assignments easy. Its Guide Blade takes you through the most sophisticated operations—step by step. As well, a scan automatically stops from front and back covers and doors and you can even stop at those covers and doors. Transparencies? No problem—your customer can look at a printed or plain backing sheet—a great choice.

That's because Canon has some of the most talented research and development people in the world along with the largest network of the most experienced basic equipment dealers right across Canada. It's a team of more than 3,000 people, 1,000 of them technicians—all trained to be the best, by Canon.

When we introduced Canon's New Process for black and white copying on plain paper across

you can see how we met that challenge in the Canon NP 9800—it's one of the fastest, high volume copiers available today. How fast is it? The NP 9800 has a first copy speed of 2.5 seconds and it turns out copies of standard size pages at up to 83 a minute.

Right behind the 9800 is another NP speedster, the Canon NP 6000, it takes on the biggest copying jobs quickly and effortlessly as its Recirculating Document Feeder (RDF) feeds as many as 60 sheets a minute. Both of these high speed, high volume machines run on a Canon innovation—a photosensitive drum that's made of amorphous silicon, a drum that stands up to high speeds, produces images of unparalleled clarity and lasts anywhere from five to twenty-five times longer than conventional drums, up to 3.5 million copies.



With its dual range copier the Canon NP 4800 delivers 40 copies a minute. What's more it can be automated to create an integrated copying system. An optional Recirculating Document Feeder can accept paper bundles, making it easy to work with large, multi-page documents. Automatic Duplexing produces two-sided copies at the touch of a button.

TRUDEAU SPEAKS OUT

THE FORMER LEADER ATTACKS QUEBEC NATIONALISTS AND ENGLISH CANADIANS WHO SUPPORT THEM

Eight years after he stepped down as prime minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau is Canada's most prominent older politician. He is also an unwitting critic of Quebec nationalists. In the essay below, Trudeau looks back on his career and discusses the drive for more power for Quebec that led to the current constitutional impasse. In a conversation with Maclean's, Trudeau, 72, was, as always, passionate in his defense of his position. And from the indignant tone of his comments and his essay, he left little doubt that he will not "sit on the Oct 26 constitutional referendum, although he declined to make public his intention. The essay, which will also be included in an updated version of his book, *Towards a Just Society: The Trudeau Years*, to be published by Penguin Books Canada next month, shows Trudeau's disdain for Quebec's political leadership, past and present. That disdain is underscored by his unwillingness to refer by name to the man who has governed the province during the past two decades: Robert Bourassa and René Lévesque—identifying them as the "possible federalism preserver" and the "separatist-association promoter." It is a breezy denunciation of Quebec nationalism that will likely spark a lively national debate.

I, PRIDE AND MONEY

Commenting on Quebec nationalist politics in the first issue of *CW* in late 42 years ago, I wrote, "The country can't exist without us, we think to ourselves. So, without you, I don't exist. I belong... We depend on our power of blackmail in order to face the future... We are getting to be a sleazy bunch of master blackmailers."

Things have changed a lot since then, but for the worse. Four decades ago, all Canadians were aching for his position was that it left him prone to go his own way. His rejection of proposals for constitutional reform was intended mostly to block an episode of Canada's economic and social institutions. And Quebec's "no" was formulated by a relatively small political class. In today's Quebec, however, the official blackball reform gets backing from a whole choir of those who like to think they are thinking people. If English Canada won't accept Quebec's traditional, common demands, we'll leave for where? What, he?

Consider that in the past 23 years the province of Quebec has

been governed by two premiers. The first was the one who coined the phrase "profitable federalism." We'll stay in Canada if Canada gives us enough money, he argued. However, adds the Alliance report that he commissioned, the rest of Canada must hand over nearly all its constitutional powers, except of course the power to give us lots of money. And to put a bit more kick in the blackball, no opportunity is missed to point out that Quebec's (alleged) right of self-determination is written into the premier's party program. Thus is the premier who prides himself in not priching: "Interventions on headed lines."

The other premier was the one who invented "sovereignty-association." He demanded all the powers of a sovereign country for Quebec, but was careful to arrange for the sovereign country not to be independent. Indeed, his referendum question postulated that a sovereign Quebec would be associated with the other provinces and would continue to use the Canadian dollar as legal tender. Money, money, money!

So for 23 years the Quebec electorate has suffered the upony of being to choose between two provincial parties for whom the pride of being a Quebecer is negotiable for cash. And if by some stroke of ill fortune the rest of Canada seems determined to go along with the blackmail, as happened over the Meech Lake accord, it is accused of humiliating Quebec. In Quebec, humiliation is decidedly selective.

Except for a small handful of dyed-in-the-soul separatists, together with the speaking of Montrealers who crossed their vote in favor of the Equality party, just about all the crown of Quebec society approves of this shameful horse trading, and so without letting an eye be looked on or the other of the above-mentioned premiers for 23 years.

Arrives in general people as independence, but want the Canadian government to keep giving them money. The businesspeople and professionals endorsed the independence blackmail over the Meech Lake, but with the economic crisis worsening are embracing advantages to "profitable federalism." The francophone media live up to great numbers on the side of sovereignty, but remain faithful to their bene and self-interest. Political scientists had their statements, of course, instead of analyzing this question behavior with scientific detachment, subscribe to it almost unanimously,



some openly advocate leads-to-the-throat negotiations with English Canada, insisting that with a certain kind of independence, Quebecers could continue to elect federal members of Parliament from whose come regulations government.

Caricature and cartoonist, as Alice said. Most were examples of this ludicrous political thinking?

• In 1964 and 1973, Quebec premiers awarded two constitutional agreements that they had signed (Falcon-Provost) or drafted and promised to sign (Victoria). In Quebec they were cheered. But when the premiers of two other provinces refused to back the 1987 Meech Lake accord, which they had neither negotiated nor signed, it was claimed that Quebec had been hurt and humiliated by the rest of the country.

• A Canadian prime minister is accused of having broken a promise made to Quebecers during the referendum of 1980 when the words interpreted as a promise were in fact addressed to the other provinces to urge them to ensure constitutional negotiations after the referendum.

• Seven provinces that approved the reparation of the Constitution in September, 1981, are accused of betrayal (on the night of New 4 the so-called night of the long knives) after forming a common front with Quebecers in April 1981, to block the reparation project. The truth is that during the negotiations on the morning of New 4, it was the premier of Quebec who broke ranks with the other provinces of the Group of Eight and left them out in the cold.

• In 1982, the premier of Quebec considers a constitutional veto for Quebec a matter of life and death, yet in 1971 he himself rejected this veto when the federal government and the nine other provinces offered it on a silver tray. And his successor, who also considered Quebec's veto sacred, turned it down several times between 1978 and 1981. He even went to the Supreme Court to prevent the federal government, which had the support of Ontario and New Brunswick, from putting a veto for Quebec in the Constitution.

• Once the Supreme Court had defined the rules of the game, the negotiations of the Constitution was carried out in strict accordance with the rule of law and respect for consensus, but when the province of Quebec was a weighted 65 percent of the combined votes of Quebec's members of Parliament in Ottawa and the Quebec National Assembly left official Quebec history documents the operation as "strong arm tactics," and a number of worthy individuals (including a former federal cabinet minister who had supported the operation) have discovered retroactively that it had humiliated them.

In short, Quebec governments had blacked all Canadian attempts at negotiation since 1927, and here was a separatist Quebec government trying to do it again in 1980. The premier of Quebec, they say,

level to play the game. Well, he played at referendum and lost. He played at elections and lost. He played at negotiation and lost. He played the Supreme Court game and lost. Finally, he played at getting rid of elected representatives and lost. How have Quebec's reformist leaders explained this succession of failures? It is out of the question for them to consider that a Quebec government might have played its cards astutely; they have had to admit history's cruel jokes as to blame it all on some conspiracy beyond.

So it goes that, with nuptials and divorces, the Quebec nationalist elite fails history to prove that all Quebec's political failures are someone else's fault. The Conquest, the abandonment of Caplans's laws, slow-down to enter the modern age, electricity, and all the rest, it is never our leaders' fault; it has to be blamed on some cosmic plot against us.

II. THE DISTINCT SOCIETY

The more glowing talk of provincialism is an evidence when nationalist thinkers in Quebec have used terms like "distinct society," "majority society," "non-collectivist society," which followed "equality or independence," which was preceded by "equal status." None of these terms stands up to serious scrutiny.

The latest variation, the distinct society, turned up in post-referendum propaganda in 1980, when the premier of Quebec had to invent something to replace sovereignty-association, which had gone down with the referendum. The focus of the advice becomes apparent if we recall that its author considered his province so distinct that he hated it with the other provinces of the Group of Eight in April 1981, whereas eight of them decided declared themselves equal to all the others, and approved an ascending hierarchy which placed Quebec at its right of place. Nevertheless, the phrase "distinct society" continues to be a lie.

"That Quebec is a distinct society is totally obvious. The inhabitants of the province live in a territory defined by its borders. The majority speak French. They are governed under a particular system of laws. And these realities have been central in the development of a culture which is uniquely their own."

These are negligible facts, arising from two centuries of history marked by ethnic struggles and juridico-political subordination. This produced the Canadian Constitution of 1867, whose federalist cabinet then unity laws were imposed by French Canadian, led by Sir George-Étienne Cartier, an other Canadians. It was precisely this federalism which enabled and encouraged the development in Quebec of a province that is a distinct society.

This Constitution also gave birth to six other provinces, all of them distinct from the others by reason of their territorial borders, their ethnic language, and hence their cultures. A society cannot be defined as distinct to another, in fact, without that other being defined as distinct in relation to the first.

Nevertheless, all three distinct societies share a considerable heritage, despite some exceptions to the contrary. Much is made of the fact, for example, that the civil law is the law in Quebec, whereas common law applies elsewhere. Yet, however important the Civil Code may be, in reality it occupies a very small place in the total picture of provincial

laws by which we in Quebec are governed. Just like the other provinces, Quebec has enacted a vast number of statutory laws, they apply to all aspects of our collective lives and are the product of a juridical culture far more closely related to that of the other provinces than to the laws of New France or the Napoleonic Code.

At any rate, it is a truism not to uphold to assert that Quebec as a distinct society, since the Constitution we adopted in 1867 has permitted it to be a distinct society. Since this is a constitutionally recognized reality, why are so many Quebec politicians, public law experts and jurisprudence scholars to have it inserted in the Constitution all one again? And why do they say they are humiliated when people wonder why this is so necessary?

Because, they say, the Constitution of 1862 recognizes the collective rights of other minorities: essential rights of the nation peoples, the constitutional heritage of many newer Canadians, even women's rights. So why such indignation when it comes to writing into the same Constitution "this promotion of Quebec as a distinct society"?

This is gross sophistry. Unlike Quebecers, neither the nation peoples nor the "multicultural" nor women are collectivities defined by a specific territory and enjoying executive, legislative and judicial powers. Consequently, the Constitution does not give them, as collectivities, any specific jurisdictional power to "promote" their distinct societies. The only effect of these charter provisions is to give individuals belonging to these collectivities an additional judicial guarantee of protection against any interpretation of the charter whereby their rights could be overlooked. Somewhat in the same fashion, the charter has given to members of the French-Canadian minority act trust throughout Canada the power to make laws to promote the French language, but the power to have the courts rule on the equality of French with English, to the extent guaranteed by the charter.

To the other hand, when the words "promotion of Quebec as a distinct society" are proposed for insertion into the body of the Constitution or in the charter, they would apply to a province—that is, a constitutional entity with power to make laws, give effect to them and have the courts impose respect for them. The courts will be called upon to define these words. First, they will need to determine what new powers the Constitution intends to give to Quebec in order to better enable it to "promote its distinct society." They will also need

to consider how the province of Quebec is different from the other provinces, all of which are distinct societies, and all of which are empowered by the Canadian Constitution to promote the same rights of their respective populations. Then they will ponder the words of the preamble: "whereas the people are to guide their interests of the charter" "distinct society" — involves a French-speaking majority, a unique culture, and a civil law tradition.

Now the consequences become clear. The charter, whose essential purpose was to recognize the fundamental and inalienable rights of all Canadians equally would recognize discrimination as the province. Quebec's unique rights could be overridden or modified by provincial laws whose purpose is to promote a distinct society and give specificity to

laws "the French-speaking majority" that has "a unique culture" and "a civil law tradition." There is a very good chance, then, that Quebecers of Irish, Polish, or Vietnamese origin—even if they speak perfect French—would have trouble finding a place in the "distinct society" in any attempt to protect their fundamental rights as individuals against discrimination. They would have to stand in a jurisdiction where they are in a minority. And even in "old stock" Quebecers would risk losing his fundamental rights if he were made enough to go on them against Quebec law passed for the promotion of "collective rights."

This most recent ideological bid in Quebec, "collective rights" has an authoritarian following: jurists, academics, students, businesspeople and politicians are all ready to join the barricades to protect the "collective rights" of Quebecers against any interference from the Canadian Constitution or the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In this they are following the lead of their premier, who at the proclamation of Bill 178 banning signs in languages other than French, begged that in the name of collective rights his government had trampled individual rights guaranteed by the charter.

III. COLLECTIVE RIGHTS

The poverty of nationalist thinking in Quebec is abundantly clear from the dispatch with which so many of our Quebecers thinkers have embraced the concept of "collective rights."

Under the charter, all Canadians stand as equals before the state. But Quebec's isolationist elites, who are fearful in the face of competition from the United States and even the whole world, are aware of this. In English Canada, only in the St-Jean Baptiste parade are we a race of poets, when the rest of the year we are not. And we come to national unity against other Canadians as individuals, we are afraid we are not equal but inferior to them, and we run and hide behind our "collective" rights which, if need be, we invoke to override the fundamental rights of "others." But what policies or academic or businesspeople will tell us which collectivity is supposed to have those rights?

Is it the French-Canadian collectivity living here and there across Canada? Of course not, since the preponderant ideology in Quebec doesn't give a fig about bilingualism in Canada, and Quebec has gone to be in court for Alberta and Saskatchewan when they have denied French rights acquired even before these provinces joined Confederation in 1905.

Is it the collectivity of all Quebecers, then? No, because that collectivity is called a province, and the powers of the province were explicitly recognized long ago by the Constitution Act of 1867.

So it is only one so-called distinct collectivity within Quebec—but which? Certainly not the members of the Anglophone minority, since Quebec has no other special rights in relation to status and certain aspects of education. We can rule out the native peoples, too, since they have been clearly given to understand that they cannot be a distinct society with the right to self-determination because the term has been reserved by Quebecers of another race.

Why the belated late talk about protecting collective rights, then, they are thinking only of French-speaking Quebecers. But as we have now know

what that means? There are plenty of anglophones who speak very good French and plenty of francophones of various cultural backgrounds who speak languages other than French. Will they all get protection of their collective rights in law for the French-speaking part of them? If it is, what will those rights consist of?

Can Quebecers, for instance, protect certain aspects of their own culture by closing provincial museums as part of the French-speaking "collectivity" they insist they must have? Or the "unique culture" which Quebec will have the power to promote through demographics from the charter? Can non-Quebecers—Quebecers of whatever origin choose to live in Quebec—

to promote their heritage and origins so as to share with "old stock" Quebecers the protection sought for the French-speaking collectivity? Or are we dealing with a frankly racist notion that makes second- or third-class citizens of everyone but "old stock" Quebecers?

There are no answers here, but what does one-day after it will be for the individual to decide whether or not to be or belong to the collectivity of "old stock" Quebecers. This will be decided by a Quebec government through laws adopted by majority vote in the National Assembly. And so from collective rights on down to the distinct society, third or fourth power is seen, together with equity and maximum equality to others, will have established that, as when elements of Quebec society, a legislative majority will have jurisdiction for arbitrarily overriding the fundamental rights of any citizen who has the privilege of living in Quebec.

IV. QUEBEC'S "TRADITIONAL" DEMANDS

Max Ruess, professor of political science at Laval University, has shown in a book published last year that between 1860 and 1902, Quebec's "traditional" and "new" demands have been anything but traditional or new.

Looking back further still, it can be seen that there has never been a definitive answer to the question: "What does Quebec want?", which still being asked by the few English-speaking Canadians who are not sick and tired of the consequences of Quebec nationalism or thinking.

At far back as memory serves, French Canadians were essentially asking for one thing: respect for the French fact in Canada and incorporation of that fact into Canadian civil society, prosperity in the areas of language and education, and particularly in the federal government and provinces with French-speaking minorities. After two centuries of struggle and a few symbolic victories (bilingual money and stamps for example), the Official Languages Act was passed in 1969 and minority language rights

rights were enshrined in the Charter of 1982. The price had suddenly opened and multilingual bilingualism was recognized in Canada. Then, equally suddenly, the Quebec nationalists no longer wanted the French language to be made equal with English throughout Canada. They demanded bilingualism in signs at the very moment it was becoming a reality. With Bill 22 and Bill 101 Quebec declared itself an anglophone French reality and abandoned the cause of French-speaking minorities in other provinces, the better to emphasize the English-speaking majority in Quebec; the first nationalists had suddenly empowered us to become indifferent to the first majority and stakeout of the second. It is in it we had practiced



St-Jean Baptiste Day parade in Montreal, 1892: "a race of poets"



L'ÉQUIPE: money, money, money

Each new ransom paid to stave off the threat of schism will simply encourage the master blackmailers to renew the threat and double the ransom

what only out of weakness or hypocrisy. Yet Premier Jean Lesage, the father of the Quiet Revolution, had spelled out Quebec's traditional demands at the federal-provincial conference held in July, 1960, a few weeks after the election that had brought him to power. In substance, they were as follows:

- Immediate recognition of valid on the reputation of the Constitution and the constitutionality of existing formulae;
- Insertion in the Constitution of a charter of rights, to include both language rights and education rights for French-speaking minorities outside Quebec;
- Creation of a constitutional court;
- Creation of a permanent federal-provincial affairs secretariat;
- Annual meetings of provincial premiers;
- An end to constitutional groups and shared-cost programs.

But whenever these objectives were about to be reached, Quebec's "traditional" demands would begin to evolve. Thus, in 1964 Premier Lesage gave a to the nationalists and repudiated the Fulton-Perkins agreement on negotiation, which his government had negotiated and signed, and came up with an entirely new "traditional" demand, which came to be known as "special status." The content of this action remained deliberately vague, for it was to become eventually an instrument of blackmail Quebec would never allow the Canadian Constitution to be brought home unless the country paid a ransom to Quebec.

This ransom would vary from year to year, the only constant being that as soon as the ransom was paid, the Quebec government would come up with a new one. Thus, under Lesage, the federal government would be required to fund programs that were applicable throughout the country would be administered in Quebec by the Quebec government, but at the Canadian government's expense. There was also much talk over the new political dogwood through which it was hoped that Quebec would gain recognition as an international power.

In 1966, Daniel Johnson, by which various federal programs that were applicable throughout the country would be administered in Quebec by the Quebec government, but at the Canadian government's expense. There was also much talk over the new political dogwood through which it was hoped that Quebec would gain recognition as an international power.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.



Bourassa: ready to feel humiliated

two weeks later, on Nov. 12, 1961, these three conditions had disappeared and been replaced by three others: recognition of Quebec's distinct society, a constitutional veto and limitations to the charter.

After the federal election of 1964, the self-styled premier recommended that Quebec give "the free rule of federalism" a try.

The profitable federalism premier, who he had returned to power in 1965, demanded that Quebec's "distinct society" be incorporated in the Constitution, being which he would break all negotiations. A year or two later the "distinct society" was to be incorporated in the body of the Constitution in an interpretive clause: the Meech Lake accord, failing which Quebec would "revert to self-determination."

In February, 1990, while the Meech Lake accord was still being negotiated, the premier created the Allaire committee, whose mandate was to define the "traditional demands" to be made after the conclusion of the Meech Lake accord. The Allaire report, published less than a year later, demanded a massive transfer of federal powers just to Quebec. If this reason was not just, there would be a referendum on Quebec independence. As we know, this report was set aside by the premier at the policy convention of the Liberal Party of Quebec on Aug. 23, 1990.

Many in Quebec have the cheek to call this incredible grab bag "traditional demands." And every time a new demand is announced, the self-appointed elite stay at arm's length, ready to feel humiliated if the reason is not paid at once. Most incredible of all, there are still good souls in English Canada who are ready to take these treacherous traitors seriously and urge their governments to pay each new ransom for fear of losing much "lost chance" to save Canada. Poor things, they have not yet realized that the nationalists' threat will never be satisfied, and that each new ransom paid to stave off the threat of secession will simply encourage the master Blackmoths to raise the threat and double the ransom.

It has become clear that all the demands made of Canada by the Quebec nationalists can be summed up in just one: keep giving us more power, and Quebec's new demand because "regularity or independence."

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

In 1971, the profitable federalism premier scuttled his own agreement on negotiation and, as ransom, demanded the right to opt out of family allowances. This had hardly been out of family allowances.

THERE ARE MORE MIEVEAL TRADE BARRIERS BETWEEN VICTORIA AND ST. JOHN'S THAN FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO GREECE.



Europe is becoming one market as regulations are standardized, procedures harmonized and ancient business blockades crumble.

Here at home walls separating trade between Canadian provinces still stand but ones are changing. The Free Trade Agreement has already forced Canadians to think on a North American scale.

Certified General Accountants are uniquely positioned to help you do business amidst these changes.

The real world. CGA's are trained with a thoroughness and degree of hands-on computer and business practice that's unparalleled in the field.

Comfortable in the theoretical world of accounting they display a distinct flair for practical problem solving.

So if you'd rather leap brick walls than bang your head against them, get a CGA working with you soon.

**CGA. BUSINESS SOLUTIONS
FOR THE REAL WORLD.**

BY BEING AWARE OF PEOPLE'S NEEDS, MORE AND
MORE PEOPLE HAVE BECOME AWARE OF MAZDA.

At Mazda, we take great pride in being aware of our customer's needs. To meet them, we go beyond technology, and rely on human thoughts, feelings and emotions to create cars that stir the soul and capture the eye. It's a difference you can see, and the way we make sure every Mazda just feels right.

The 1993 Mazda New Generation.

Every Mazda features a 3-year/100,000 km "bumper-to-bumper," no-deductible warranty and a 5-year/100,000 km major components warranty. Plus Mazda Added Protection plans are available too. See Dealer for details.



mazda
IT JUST FEELS RIGHT



When Pierre Trudeau initiated efforts to patriate the Constitution in 1980, he had no stronger ally than William Davis, the premier of Ontario. The two men had stood side by side on most national unity issues during Davis's 14-year reign, which ended in 1985. In Ontario, Davis, 83, has practiced law with a law-firm Bay Street firm and has spoken only infrequently on public issues. But in his essay, written for Maclean's, Davis spells out in detail his reasons for believing that Canadians should vote "yes" in the Oct. 26 referendum—and details his alliance with Trudeau. The result: an impassioned plea to build a new Canada, based on the Charlottetown accord.

When Pierre Trudeau was Prime Minister of Canada, I believe, as we know it, went through a great period of challenge. While we agreed on many things and did to disprove our partisan differences, I was always troubled by his dismissive stance with respect to Quebec's legitimate aspirations.

And for many in the West, the imposition of the National Energy Program in 1980 represented a significant curbing of the central power to strip taxpayers of legitimate rights to benefits from insurance. True or not, this perception produced a measure of animosity and had blood which persists in a vital form today.

It was odd, conflict to many in the West, at the time that responsible business and political forces elsewhere in the country, including Quebec, felt uncomfortable. Yet, I put differences aside to work with the then-Prime Minister, for whom I retain some affection yet, to patriate the Constitution.

It is true that between 1968 and 1979 the growth of separatism in Quebec and concurrent animosity in the West went to peak. Trudeau's approach was a marked departure from the commitment to co-operative federalism of his Liberal predecessor, Prime Minister Lester Pearson. In some respects, it also differed from the approach of all prime ministers before and all prime ministers since.

Failed: I participated in the 1981-1982 patriation exercise and agreed with the conclusion. But I also agreed that the constitutional arrangement was fundamentally flawed without Quebec's endorsement and that serious efforts to obtain that would have to be undertaken as soon as a federalist government was elected in Quebec.

The election of the [Robert] Bourassa government in 1985 and the negotiation of the Meech Lake accord could have resolved matters in 1987. I was dismayed that Trudeau and his followers said "no" to Meech just as today they say "no" to the Charlottetown agreement. While I approve of many elements of the 1982 agreement such as the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, I do not believe that the 1982 agreement is perfect as it stands. Nor do I believe that the subsequent climate of severity (abandonment?) would have prevailed forever, had not Prime Minister Brian Mulroney been elected in 1984 and stirred up the pot.

This questionable referendum advanced by Trudeau is contradicted by statements by his two closest advisers: On Sept. 28, 1980, Michael Pofford, former clerk of the Privy Council, subsequently appointed to the Senate by Trudeau, told *The Globe and Mail*: "We was the referendum, we said we would give Quebec a new deal and we have not delivered a new deal. If we don't come soon, they're going to renege on a substantial vote."

And on Dec. 4, 1984, Jean Chretien, Trudeau's former prime minister, told *Le Devoir* that "The new Conservative

Those who would reach out today to embrace a new tomorrow should not be discouraged by the prejudices of the past

prime minister has a unique opportunity to succeed there where Trudeau failed."

Chretien spoke of "the historic opportunity presently offered to Mulroney to correct the grievous error which Quebec will always blame (blame if they are not to dole with)," and Chretien urged the Prime Minister "to attack [this problem] now."

My ministers and I were proud to work with Trudeau in 1982 and with Chretien. Chretien's support of the Charlottetown agreement is a tribute to his own commitment to Canada. In fact, Pofford and Chretien were right then, as Mulroney was right both with Meech and the Charlottetown agreement.

I certainly hope that Trudeau will not always be unable to embrace his successor's achievements.

The old broken table still lies in Quebec where nationalists and Liberal intelligentsia may still form the prism



Davis, Canada Day 1992 (opposite); a signal

TO CHANGE AND BURY THE PAST

WILLIAM DAVIS SAYS 'YES' TO THE DEAL



Bob Rae (left), Brian Mulroney and Robert Bourassa during the Charlottetown talks instruments of reconciliation

through which some see the present constitutional opportunity. For me and for hundreds of thousands of people in Ontario and the West, the real issues are more pragmatic: is one sense and more global in another. Pragmatic because they afford us an opportunity, finally, to redress long-term problems with the structure of federalism by ensuring the West not only equal representation in the Senate, but a Senate that will have real influence and real power because it is elected in a fashion that has not been the case since the beginning of Confederation.

It is pragmatic because it allows us to work together on important priorities like economic union and aboriginal self-government with a clear statement of principle and commitment that remains fundamental to the economic best interests of every Canadian.

Dubied: The more global part of the present opportunity for us is the ability to reach out and embrace the legitimate aspirations of our fellow citizens in Quebec in a fashion that recognizes their important role, their distinct role in protecting the French language and culture within the Canadian family here on the North American continent.

The present Charlottetown agreement is a historic step ahead for people of all affiliations across Canada who believe in a society that is open, socially just, free, entrepreneurial and based on a genuine effort at sharing responsibility in a balanced and reasonable democracy.

This does represent a view of the country not advanced when Trudeau was prime minister. He has the right to his view as did his government of Liberals, New Democrats, Conservatives and others who saw some in their view, a new more contemporary and responsive to the real concerns of normal unity, fairness and co-operative federalism in today's Canada.

Everyone in public life, including former prime ministers and former premiers, must at some point be prepared to set aside pride of authorship.

What is most important is that those who would reach out today to

embrace a new tomorrow and shape a fresh beginning not be discouraged by the prejudices of the past, the biases of a different approach, which while legitimate in the broad context of open and democratic debate, cannot but represent a smaller view of Canada, a colonial view of the West and a condescending view in the extreme of the legitimate cultural concerns of the people of Quebec.

Faith, common trust, co-operation, open-mindedness and conciliation—these are the instruments of rational reconstruction and preservation for all Canadians of the highest quality of life in the world.

Intellectual intolerance is a relic of a different time, a different place, it has as little to do with meeting legitimate concerns as it does with the genuine prospects and opportunities for Canadians as a whole.

A "yes" decision is more important than ever.

"Yes" would be a signal to investors, to the consumer, to the international financial community in Canada and beyond and that we have reached that level of maturity that has eluded us in the past—and that the future within the context of a broad Canadian federation is assured.

The cost of "no"? Well, who knows. At the very least a vote for "no" could mean economic uncertainty, foreign exchange difficulties, a continuing weakening of the economic agenda that all Canadians want to see their governments attack with fervor and commitment, a dilution of our national will and a clear and troubling signal to the world that as a nation we have not gotten our act together.

A "no" vote would be a signal to people abroad and a signal to Canadians at home. A signal to our children: A very weak bond indeed upon which to build our future.

Theoretical arguments have their place in any democracy and should not be treated with disrespect. But the stakes this time are very high. Canadians across the country must allow the bases of a long gone era to decline the main chance we now all share. □

I was always troubled by Trudeau's dismissive sense with respect to Quebec's legitimate aspirations

PEOPLE

A SAVAGE PURSUIT

Georgia Savage says that although her best-selling novel *The House of the Living Dead* begins with a harrowing account of father-daughter incest, "it's not a book that condemns men. I love men. In fact, I've made the pursuit of men my life's work." As winner of the 1993 Canada Australia Prize, Savage recently completed a reading tour of Western Canada—and noted some similarities with her native Australia. Canadians "have the same chip on their shoulders as Australians have," she said. "It's just an inferiority complex. We should be able to form our own opinions."

Everyday hero

As an actor, John Turturro has worked with some of Hollywood's best-known filmmakers, including Spike Lee, Joel and Ethan Coen and Martin Scorsese. Although he's accumulated just those credits helped him with his first stint as a director, Turturro added that "in the end, you have to do your own thing." This time, Mike, his comedy he's never been only directed it, but also stars in it and wrote the screenplay. The story of an ambitious contractor struggling to succeed in New York City in the 1950s, Mike is based on the life of Turturro's construction-worker father, Mike. "He was indicative of a lot of people in that generation," the 35-year-old New Yorker said. "They struggled with everything—they didn't give up, and that is a heroic battle." Added Turturro, who won the Cannes 1990 award for best first-time filmmaker at the 1993 Cannes Festival, "I don't do what my father did, but hopefully I approach what I do with the same fervor."



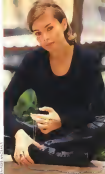
Turturro: 'do your own thing'

PLAYING THE PERCENTAGES

In the past 16 years, Ovi Patti says, he has appeared in about 100 films. That prolific career has established him as one of India's most exciting stars, and now he is making roles in North American movies. "The world is shrinking every day," said Patti, 42. "It's important that cultures know each other." The Bombay resident was in Vancouver last month filming *The Burning Season*, a tale of star-crossed lovers set in Canada and India, at which he plays the heroine's passionate father-in-law. Although he maintains that his current project, which will be released next year, accurately depicts the Indian state-governor experience, he says that Western portrayals of his culture are often incomplete. "A lot of information is based on myths and misconceptions," said Patti, who adds that he judges a role on a "percentage basis." Said the actor: "If the plot of the movie is fairly reasonable, say 75 or 80 per cent, then you take it. But, that's good enough. But if it is totally mythical, then one per cent."



Patti: 'The world is shrinking every day'



Marie: 'beautiful passion and desire'

A CONVINCING ROLE

In director Jean-Jacques Annaud's new movie, *The Lover*, English actress Jane March costars with Hong Kong actor Tony Leung as a young woman caught up in a highly erotic, brutal love affair. "It is about a beautiful passion and desire that takes over everything," said March, 26. But she added that newspapers in her home country did not concentrate on the film's beauty. "The press made it into a porno film," March said, adding, "I was shocked and really hurt, but then I thought, 'We've dreamed good others if we can make it that convincing.'"

The Shark and the man

Golfer Greg Norman says that his victory last week at the Canadian Open, his first PGA win since 1990 and his second Canadian title, was "as big a win as my first tournament." But when asked about the habit of some voracious spectators to shout, "You the shark!" after every good drive, "the Shark" bared his teeth. "It is one of the worst things that ever came out in sport," Norman said. "It has got to stop. We're getting fed up with it."

WINGS OF HOPE

CANADA JOINS AN INTERNATIONAL AIRLIFT OF SUPPLIES TO FAMINE-STRIKEN SOMALIA

I was sick by the time liberators finished loading 291 sacks of cornmeal onto a rickety truck parked on Bardera's dirt runway. Nearby, the five-man Canadian crew of a Hercules C-130 cargo plane, which flew the relief supplies to the southern Somali town earlier that day from Nairobi, Kenya, worked frantically in the sweltering heat to repair an engine problem before takeoff. "Don't worry," a pilot official reassured the Canadians, pointing to ragged bands of teenagers squatting on the desert floor. At 47, smooth rifles slung over their shoulders, "If you have to stay here tonight I will supply you with armed guards." An adanawo signalled the air strip. Capt. François Pelletier of Aubusson, Que., climbed into the cockpit of the giant olive-green plane. There was a collective sigh of relief among the Canadians as the engines started, and Pelletier took off for Nairobi. The Kenyan capital is only an hour and 40 minutes away by air—but it is light-years from the horrors engulfing the most parched corners of Africa.

Last week, Canada joined the United States, Germany, France and Belgium in a massive, and potentially dangerous, airlift to bring emergency aid to drought- and war-stricken Somalia. A fleet of 30 Canadian aircraft, cargo landers and technicians, including Pelletier and his crew, began ferrying food and other relief supplies out of Nairobi in two tactical formations for the International Committee of the Red Cross and the UN World Food Program. By week's end, the Canadians had flown at least 210 tons of cornmeal, rice, beans, cooking oil, high-protein biscuits, soy flour and sugar to starving Somalis in the coastal capital of Mogadishu and the smaller southern towns of Beled Hays, Bardera, Bardera and Baidoa. The Canadian airlift is scheduled to last 90 days, longer if needed. And as part of a new 3,500-member UN peacekeeping force, Canada is



Chaotic scene at food distribution point in Bardera: a flood of starving migrants

sending 750 troops to northeastern Somalia by late October to protect the distribution of relief supplies there. "The relief effort is something we look forward to," said Lt. Col. John Jensen of Trenton, Ont., chief of the Canadian air force in Nairobi. "We get a lot of satisfaction knowing we are helping these people."

In the anxiety that has prevailed since rebels seized control of Mogadishu last June in January 1991, hundreds of thousands of Somalis have perished from drought and civil war. UN officials say that two million Somalis from a population of seven million could starve to death unless more aid reaches the needy. While the World Food Program estimates that

62,000 tons of food is needed each month, current aid efforts are providing only half that amount. Moreover, distribution of aid remains a difficult and dangerous task in the war-torn countryside, where armed militiamen resist neutral UN efforts to climb despite a truce. Last Friday, the United States suspended relief flights to Beled Hays after a bullet struck one of its cargo planes on the ground.

Another problem is the mass migration of starving rural dwellers to cities and towns in search of food, where feeding centers barely cope with demand. Outside Bardera, about 400 km west of Mogadishu, one day last week,

Baidoa (Mud) stood covered by a tattered piece of cloth and clinking a wooden basket. The 60-year-old woman from Baidoa village was one of about 300 exhausted people struggling into the town on Sept. 16. She said that she and her five children had walked for five days in the grueling heat. "If I can find food at Bardera I will stay," she murmured with a bleak look in her eyes. "Otherwise I will just have to go back to my home."

At the feeding centre, a desperate woman

was it reaching the people in the rural areas," said Mohamed Sidani, the special representative of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Somalia, who he arrived in Bardera flanked by armed guards. "But it is still being. We still need more."

Canadian diplomats say that the Somali conflict can be resolved only through a political settlement. But the warring factions that are asserting control over various parts of the country seem unable to stop the unceasing warfare.

Said Christopher Leitch, an official at the Canadian High Commission in Nairobi. "In many cases the warlords can't control their people," Sgt. Jim Robertson, a flight engineer from Murray Harbour, P.E.I., said that Somalia presents greater challenges for aid workers than Eritrea and Ethiopia, where he had previously participated in famine relief. "This relief operation is quite different because of the local warlords," and Robertson. "It's not clear whether the food is getting to the right people."

Outside the sprawling military barracks in Bardera, great children on a pile of rubble. Inside, Gen. Mohamed Farrah Aidid, who claims to control two-thirds of Somalia, sat on a thin cushion on the neatly carpeted floor of a two-story white villa. Aidid appeared for most of the day, sitting on the floor, eating, and listening to his staff. He said that he had already agreed to be deployed as Mogadishu, he did not welcome more UN soldiers. "There's no need for any more troops," he said. "We consider this a Somali problem." Aidid's main rival, Ali Mahdi Mohamed, approves of the UN troops and wants them to be increased to 10,000. But diplomatic observers say that he has issues that the presence of peacekeepers would strengthen his initially disputed claim to Somalia's presidency.

But politics does not fill empty stomachs. And in Dooly, a dusty village about 25 km northeast of Bardera, food, not starvation, was the primary concern of hungry residents. Aidid workers had week ended on cornmeal to 240 people. Nancy Nait also spoke to a nurse about the health of her five-year-old son, Nancy, who clings to her leg. She has already lost her other two children to starvation in Bardera, when the family fled after Barry's troops looted their village and stole their livestock last winter.

"We are our mistakes due to force of us," said the desperate young mother. "We don't have any hope in life." The Canadian airlift comes too late for most of them. But it could make the difference for Nancy and many other desperate Somalis.

ANDREW BILAKI with MICHAEL GEMOY
in Bardera

National Notes

A REBEL BEHIND BARS

Former police captain Ahmed Ganiyu, founder and ideological chief of the Muslim Shari'ah Party, a militant group, and one of the leaders of the 1993 military coup, was arrested in April, and that Ganiyu, 27, would be tried by a military court next month. Shari'ah Party's 12-year war against the government has cost more than 28,000 lives and over \$24 billion in damage through sabotage attacks.

LAND FOR PEACE

A Middle East peace talks in Washington, Israel and Syria began negotiations on the future of the occupied Golan Heights. The strategic Heights, captured by Israel in 1967, Middle East war, has been the key issue. Modern progress in the talks between Israel and Syria since the U.S.-brokered negotiations began nearly a year ago.

SEX IN SPACE

Attempts aboard the U.S. shuttle Endeavour to conduct the taking of the first satellite census and developed in orbit. The satellites will be allowed to monitor the Earth, and scientists will monitor their efforts for any abnormalities. Canadian experiments on the flight include one by a team of Manitoba scientists to test the molecular structure of sleep, and one by Star Aerospace Ltd. to see if bread rises in space.

BARRY'S COMEBACK

Former Washington mayor Marion Barry was a Democratic primary election for a city council seat from Ward 8, the city's poorest district. Barry, 56, resigned from office in 1980 and spent six months in prison after the FBI videotaped him using cocaine in a hotel room.

DISASTER IN PAKISTAN

The worst natural disaster and flooding in Pakistan's central Punjab province was a series of floods that killed at least 950 people, left 3 million homeless and destroyed as much as 40 per cent of the region's crops.

WINDING DOWN

U.S. special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh announced the end of his six-year, \$30-million criminal investigation into the Iran-contra scandal, which rocked Ronald Reagan's presidency and is causing political problems for President George Bush. Still facing trial are former secretary of defense Gen. Weinberger and CIA official Duane Clarridge. Fellow CIA official Clair George, whose first trial ended in a hung jury, will be retried.

BUSINESS

A WORLD IN CHAOS

Few images in the 20th century have captured the popular imagination as completely as the destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989. As the barbed wire and concrete blocks dividing East and West Germany collapsed and fell away, a euphoric mood spread through Europe and North America. For years, the Wall stood as the foremost symbol of the global polarization that followed the Second World War. And as the Cold War gave way to warmer times, it was as if the world were shouting a message of reconciliation to the heavens and the earth. The raising of the Wall, an act made even more poetic by the popular's participation with banners and chants, gave the face of communism a resonant victory and allowed those to proclaim a new era of European unity. But much more than bricks and mortar were demolished when the Berlin Wall came down. As other such scars of the Cold War fell and the Soviet Union imploded, the world, once rent by the opposing forces of capitalism and communism, devolved into a chaotic and uncertain place. After decades of intense mutual suspicion, the frontier rhetoric and rebel drama of each side slowly vanished and was replaced by blood-pouring events about the spirit of global co-operation and brotherhood. It has become increasingly apparent in Europe and North America,

ESSAY

however, that the sudden loss of that entrenched common enemy, which bound them together politically and economically since 1945, has left behind a critical vacuum. Now, with the spectre of encroaching communism vanquished, the incentive for laughter and jokes to pull down together has faded into a distinctly threatening aspect. Instead, national self-determination and domestic economic agendas seem to be gaining ground at the very time when collective interests, including those of the European Community (EC), were supposed to be on the rise.

The turmoil in international financial markets last week clearly displayed the fragility of the bonds among European nations. Growing uneasiness about the long-awaited economic unification under the Maastricht Treaty surfaced when Germany's Bundesbank slightly lowered its benchmark interest rate on Sept. 14 in a bid to stabilize some weaker currencies. That action, intended to showcase the potential benefits of greater European solidarity, quickly backfired and caused enormous havoc.

Behind the scenes of the drama in its currency came close to collapsing. In the end, it was forced to choose between breaking ties with Europe's collective system of fixed exchange rates, pegged to the German mark, and the fallout from a drastic blow in domestic interest

Berlin Wall: a symbol of polarization

rates. Domestic pressures prevailed, and Britain withdrew from the Exchange Rate Mechanism, allowing its currency rate to float in the open market (page 36).

For those who oppose the automatic compromise entailed in forming a more comprehensive European economic union, the market hysteria could not have erupted at a more opportune moment: it came just days before the French were scheduled to vote on their participation in the new, unified Europe. But the collapse of the Berlin pound underscored how destructive economic interdependence can be. It also illustrated the problems of trying to mesh the interests of such disparate nations as Germany, which is relatively strong, and Italy, which has a powerful, but chaotic economy. But there all last week's market gyrations demonstrated that when confronted with wide-

spread uncertainty and acute political pressure, nations will frequently sacrifice their collective good for a domestic agenda—especially during an economic recession.

European nations have historically resisted behind-restrictive-trade policies at times of economic hardship and political instability. After the turbulence of the 1930s, a decade that culminated in a financial collapse in the United States and the rest of the world, the depression, there was an almost universal migration to protectionism. Following decades of relatively free trade before the First World War, European tariff levels were close to 50 per cent by 1933. Even Britain, which promoted free trade in the first half of the 19th century, abandoned its liberal policy effectively surrendering to traditional rules in the international economic model and financial leader.

Indeed, it took another world war and the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement, coupled with the emergence of a common enemy, the Soviet Union, to restore any appreciable economic co-operation among nations in the United States back on the leadership position, formerly held by Britain. It was able to impose a new order on the postwar economic chaos of Europe. At the Bretton Woods, M.H. Henderson, Britain's John Maynard Keynes, America's Harry De-

ter White, Canada's Louis St. Laurent and others drafted the first comprehensive international agreement on monetary and trade systems, including the formation of the International Monetary Fund to provide short-term relief to nations with deficit problems. In a variation on the gold standard, European currencies were pegged to the dollar, which was supported by gold at \$35 (U.S.) an ounce.

In 1971, the Bretton Woods era of coordinated currency exchange rates finally collapsed under the weight of growing colonial revivals and inflationary pressures. At that time, the United States relinquished its stewardship of exchange rates and allowed its money to float on international markets. For its part, the U.S. faced its currencies to a trading range that was soon dominated by the German mark.

Although Germany has emerged as the strongest of the postwar European economies, it has clearly been reluctant to take on that strong economic leadership role that has helped to smooth international policies and trade in the past. Currently, western Germany is still absorbed by the daunting task of reunification with its eastern half. To attract the capital required to finance such an undertaking, it has imposed relatively high interest rates, despite the problems that its still-serving national agenda may create for western currencies in the EC group.

But there are other compelling reasons for Germany's rigid adherence to a regime of high interest rates. Deeply rooted within the collective memory of many Germans is the hyperinflation of the 1920s, when a loaf of bread cost millions of marks. Now, concerned with the potentially inflationary effect of the reunification spending, Germany is in a stance on closely controlling its economic growth. As well, because of the inventory role played by the Bundesbank's predecessor, the Reichsbank, in hyperinflation, inflation 70 years ago, the country's central bank remains extremely reluctant about preserving its independence. Bundesbank officials are equally grudging about even the slight cut in rates they were urged to make for political reasons before the French vote on Maastricht.

And despite external pressure from other European monetary members, they reluctantly refused to cut rates any further to ease the pain.

As the collective anxieties of international markets finally abate—however temporary that may prove to be—the weakened, debate was off under way about the long-term implications of the move to the monetary union of Europe. But it was clear that uncertainty over the few things that all European countries will continue to share for some time

DEBORAH MCINTYRE

Business Notes

PRIZE FOR POLICIES

In its most recent review of the global economic outlook, the International Monetary Fund of Washington forecasts that real growth in the Canadian economy should rise to two per cent this year and 4.5 per cent in 1993. The agency praised Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's efforts to reduce the deficit.

HIGHRISE BLUES

In its continuing effort to raise cash through asset sales, Toronto-based Olympia & York Development Ltd. has sold an empty Manhattan office tower to New York-based Marland of America Inc. for an estimated \$150 million, or about \$25 million less than the \$175-million asking price for the property. But problems remain: it isn't a London-based Canary Wharf office complex. American Express Co. announced last week that it plans to vacate Canary Wharf.

A NUCLEAR COUP

The government of South Korea announced its intention to buy two Canadian nuclear reactors from Ottawa-based Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. for \$1 billion. The reactors will be the third and fourth sold to South Korea by AECL. The deal is expected to create about 7,000 direct and indirect jobs in Canada.

RECORD EXPORTS

According to a report from Statistics Canada, Canadian exports hit record highs in July, increasing by 3.2 per cent to \$13.1 billion from \$12.7 billion the previous month. Leading exports were wheat, machinery and energy products. The beleaguered Canadian manufacturing sector, however, continued to struggle, with auto manufacturing and parts-export shipments declining by 4.7 per cent to \$3 billion, and farm-products exports falling by 6.3 per cent to \$1.5 billion.

SHOPPING CARDS

The of Canada's leading financial institutions introduced a new debit card, Interac Direct Payment. It allows consumers to buy goods and services at more than 20,000 retail outlets across British Columbia and Quebec, with the same card. It can be used to make withdrawals at automated banking machines.

ASTONISHING INFLATION

Canada's annual inflation rate dropped to 1.8 per cent in August from 2.3 in July, according to Statistics Canada. Those figures followed the 1.1 per cent recorded in June, the lowest annual rate of inflation since May, 1992.



BUSINESS

Continental divide

The EC stumbles on the path to unity

Helmut Kohlberger may hesitate before he tries to help Germany's neighbors again. Until last week, the 66-year-old economist, who has been president of Germany's central bank, the Bundesbank since May, 1980, had steadily increased German interest rates as an effort to prevent the high costs of German reunification from fueling inflation in his country. But those rate increases had slowed economic growth in Germany and across the rest of Europe—and raised concerns about Germany's economic dominance within the 12-nation European Community (EC). Last week, just six days before a critical referendum in France on the Maastricht treaty on European union, Kohlberger bowed to political pressure from Germany's trading partners and lowered the Bundesbank's trend-setting Lombard rate by a quarter of a percentage point to 9 1/4 per cent. That move backfired spectacularly, and it sparked an international currency crisis that spiraled—rather than strengthened—the

drive towards European economic integration. By week's end, Britain and Italy had withdrawn from the European Monetary System (EMS), the EC's exchange rate system, and British and German politicians were trading openly over who was responsible for the crisis. Declared William Martin, chief economist of Citicorp & Drew, a leading London stockbrokerage firm: "It is possible that the whole system will collapse."

That clearly was not what Kohlberger and the rest of the Bundesbank's 18-member council intended. By lowering interest rates, Kohlberger and his colleagues were trying to ease downward pressure on the British pound, the Italian lire and the beleaguered currencies of other EC countries, and to demonstrate Germany's commitment to European economic unity. But instead of easing the pressure on those currencies, the Bundesbank's rate cut caused speculators to intensify their attacks on the Atlantic by European central banks to prop up the currencies and keep them within the tar-

Schlesinger financial discipline

gets of the rest proved to be false. That left Britain and Italy with no other option but to withdraw from the EMS and exit outside the zone, the pound and lire drifted even further downwards. Many analysts said that the chaos in the money markets was a sign that European leaders still face a formidable task in trying to overcome deep-seated national fears about the Maastricht blueprint for complete European economic union by 1999.

In Britain, the collapse of the pound upended the most severe political crisis that John Major has faced since he succeeded Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister two years ago. Thatcher was a vocal opponent of close economic links with Europe, but Major promotes change in direction. Last week, however, it appeared that he was going to have to pay a high political price for his support for closer links with the EC. Both Thatcher loyalists within Major's Conservative party and opposition leaders called for his resignation and the EC-champion Norman Lamont, accusing them of "betraying responsibility" after they withdrew Britain from the EMS.

Major and Lamont, in turn, blamed the Bundesbank for provoking the crisis. They argued that the German central bank wanted too long to reduce interest rates, ignoring the harsh impact that its high-interest-rate battle against inflation was having elsewhere in Eu-

rope. And Major said in a television interview that he would not return the pound to the EMS until the system is operated "in the interest of all the countries of Europe and not toward national interests in any individual country." But German leaders were making no apologies for their actions. "I don't think it's fair to blame the Germans," said German finance minister Theo Waigel. "Everyone would be well advised to put their own house in order."

Before last week, high German interest rates had driven the market up to historic highs on world money markets as international speculators converted other currencies into Deutschmarks to take advantage of those high rates. That created problems for central bankers in Britain and other EC countries, who are required to maintain the value of their currencies close to that of the mark as part of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM).

The reaction in currency markets to the Bundesbank's cut was swift and violent—and quickly overwhelmed the efforts of central bankers and finance ministers to quell the turmoil. The Bundesbank lowered its Lombard rate on Sept. 14. According to conventional financial-economic theory, that action should have encouraged investors to shift money out of short-term deposits, slowing the upward momentum of the currency. But international investors and currency speculators, who have expressed pessimism about the long-term economic prospects of almost every European country except Germany, continued to dump pounds and lire and buy up marks.

At first, the Bank of England, the Bundesbank and other European central banks tried to reverse the trend directly by selling marked banknotes and other currencies, but compared with the estimated \$800 billion in foreign exchange traded every day on world money markets, even the combined foreign currency reserves of all of Europe's central banks are tiny. "It's pocket change," said Michael Hart, vice president of foreign currency bank trading with the Philadelphia Mercantile Group in Toronto. He added: "Speculators aren't afraid of central banks any more."

Indeed, by Sunday on Sept. 16, the Bank of England had abandoned its strategy of direct intervention and attempted to defend the pound by increasing its base interest rate, first to 12 per cent from 10 per cent and then, a few hours later, to 13 per cent. But speculators interpreted those measures as further signs of weakness and desperation, and continued to bet against

the pound, along with the Italian lira, the Spanish peseta and other weak European currencies, driving them below economic levels that the ERM requires. As a result, both Britain and Italy temporarily suspended their membership in the exchange rate system and the Bank of England reduced its interest rate back to 10 per cent.

Usually, carry traders and economists predicted that the turmoil in Europe might provoke a jump in North American interest rates. The Canadian dollar dropped by more than half a cent in two days as speculators rushed to buy marks. But later in the week, North American dollars climbed relative to European currencies even though interest rates in Canada and the United States remained substantially lower than those in Europe. As a result, the Bank of Canada increased its trendsetting rate by only 0.25 percentage points to 5 3/4 per cent. Meanwhile, finance ministers from all 12 EC countries convened in Brussels for an emergency overnight meeting on Sept. 16. Despite the failure of Britain, Italy and Spain to keep their currencies within the EMS targets, the ministers issued a joint statement reaffirming their "unwavering commitment to the European Monetary Union as a key factor of economic stability and prosperity in Europe."

But long-standing tensions among the member nations quickly resurfaced. The following

day, the Bundesbank's council met and announced that it would raise its base interest rate only as far as to attempt to alleviate the crisis in foreign exchange markets. The Germans' refusal to budge was the last straw for Lamont and Major, who began to complain publicly about the Bundesbank's conduct. And amid that conduct, chaos in the markets would not return to the limbo. Said Lamont: "We want to be satisfied that German policy, which has produced many of the tensions within the exchange rate mechanism, is actually going to have some changes and be able to operate within a more stable environment."

The war of words, in turn, provoked speculation among analysts about whether the EMS could continue to function without some of its major participants. Rainer Schöckner, for one, an international research analyst with Frankfurt-based Investor Bank AG, Germany's second largest bank, said that the whole system would likely collapse if French voters rejected the Maastricht treaty. "Without France, the EMS doesn't make much sense," he said. For his part, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl disagreed. When asked whether the events of last week had shaken the faith of the EMS, Kohl replied: "No, no way."

As French voters went to the polls on Sunday, finance ministers from around the world were scheduled to wrap up a weekend of

AN ECONOMIC PRIMER

- European Monetary System** intended to provide currency stability and to promote anti-inflationary economic policies in the European Community's 12 member nations. Britain and Italy dropped out last week, allowing their currencies to float. Oneach has not joined.
- Exchange Rate Mechanism:** the tool for implementing the European Monetary System, it requires its signatories to keep their currency trading within a predetermined range in relation to the German mark, which is currency traded at the top or bottom of that range. The country's central bank must intervene to restore it by adjusting interest rates or by buying and selling the currency in foreign exchange markets.
- European currency unit:** created in 1972, it was the predecessor of the Exchange Rate Mechanism, in which European countries fixed their exchange rates according to the German mark in the 1970s.
- Maastricht treaty:** the December, 1991, agreement to expand the role of the European Community (EC) beyond its current trade and economic relations. If passed, it will create a unified European
- commercial market by 1999, including a common central bank and currency, among EC member countries.
- Economic and Monetary Union:** the final objective of the Maastricht treaty. Each member nation has to meet certain requirements, including a budget deficit of less than three per cent of its gross domestic product. Members will eventually share a common currency, the European currency unit, or euro, which will finally tie the exchange rate among the EC nations.
- Bundesbank:** the central bank of Germany. Comparable to the Bank of Canada but considered to be less political in its role of executing national monetary policy.
- Money market:** the international capital market where financial instruments with maturities of one year or less are traded.
- Floating exchange rate:** allowing the value of a national currency to be established in voluntary transactions between private buyers and sellers.
- Fixed exchange rates:** government intervention through the use of interest rates and other devices to maintain a set rate of foreign exchange.

concurrent meetings of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Group of Seven leading industrial nations, in Houston, Tex. There, U.S. officials joined their European counterparts urging Germany to lower interest rates. Although it was careful not to single out Germany for blame in public, U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady said that lower rates in Europe were necessary "if that continent is to return to growth."

Last week's splintering financial crisis was one of the most severe in the four-decade-old drive to integrate the continent's economies. The European Community traces its origins back to the April, 1951, Treaty of Paris, which established the European Coal and Steel Community to create a common market for those commodities. According to Jean Monnet, the French political economist and diplomat who first proposed the plan after the Second World War, a new economic and political framework was needed if future Franco-German conflict was to be avoided. Even then, the ultimate objective was a United States of Europe.

When the limited measures covering coal and steel proved a success, the six founding nations, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, expanded the agreement to cover their entire economies. In March, 1957, the Treaty of Rome established the European Economic Community, which was to remove all tariffs and quotas among member states by 1968. Other Western European countries eventually joined: the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland in 1973; Greece in 1981; and Spain and Portugal in 1986.

Despite the removal of tariffs, a complex web of non-tariff barriers continued to hamper trade among EC members. But French-born EC President Jacques Delors, among others, argued that further integration was the best way to revive the sagging EC economies. The result



Delors: even managers have been 'brusched'

was the Single European Act of February, 1986, which called for greater economic and monetary union, although it did not spell out how to achieve it. More concretely, the act established the goal of a single market by the end of 1992. To ensure the free movement of people, goods, services and capital as of Jan. 1, 1993, EC officials designated as Brussels have issued more than 300 directives to harmonize standards. Everything from immigration control to the percentage of preservatives

in sausage has been "brusched."

In many ways, the Maastricht treaty, which the leaders of the 12 EC member countries signed last December, was the final step in the process begun in the 1950s. In providing for a single European currency and coordinated financial policies under one central bank, sovereignty between 1980 and 1998, it outlines the mechanism of how the EC will achieve its long-stated goal of economic and monetary union.

But it has also proved to be one of the most contentious steps. In calling for just design, defense, health and consumer protection policies, among others—in effect, political union—the treaty strongly collided with nationalism. Before that, citizens in EC countries often complained about the so-called "Barroisness," the EC's 61,000-member confederation, or lobbied to maintain certain national idiosyncrasies. The Spanish, for their part, fought hard to keep the title word on the letter "D" on the computer keyboard. But less outside the United Kingdom publicly questioned the basic goals of the EC.

That all changed in June, however, when the Maastricht treaty lost its first contest with public opinion. Danish voters rejected the treaty by the narrowest of margins, 50.7 per cent against compared with 49.3 per cent in favor, but it was enough to make many politicians and EC officials pause to consider which

term best describes in several ways.

Most analysts also concluded that last week's rise in the bank rate was a temporary aberration in the general trend towards lower Canadian interest rates. They advised consumers not to make major decisions, including buying a mortgage for long terms, solely on the basis of the small increase. Said George Vanc, director of economics at Toronto-based forecasters from CIBC/McGraw Hill: "The average person with a mortgage shouldn't worry about [the] rise." Their decisions about their mortgages should reflect the rise in their debt and their own financial position. "It added, 'The bigger the debt, the more important it is to lock in.' Those with smaller mortgages can afford to take more of a risk." For the many Canadians concerned about their own financial future, it will be a long time—if ever—before the ripple from Europe becomes a wave.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM

Every Time Another Vehicle Is Adapted To Natural Gas, Commuters Across Canada Seem To Honk Their Approval.

FROM THE FAMILY car to the fleets of cars, vans, and trucks used by Canadian businesses, the automobile is a modern convenience with a modern problem—pollution. North American vehicles currently produce one third of all carbon dioxide emissions. A typical late-model car emits its own weight in carbon dioxide every year.

Right now, Natural Gas has the potential to transform today's vehicles from a necessary evil into something we can live with. Natural Gas has a variety of environmental and economic benefits that make it more relevant today than ever before.



A VEHICLE FOR CHANGE

Vehicles powered by Natural Gas pollute up to 40% less than those that run on gasoline and are up to 60% cheaper to operate. And thanks to a revolutionary new refueling system, individuals and



corporations can now refuel their vehicles—or their vehicle fleets—right on their own property. Meanwhile, government grants and incentives continue to offset the cost of a Natural Gas upgrade.

Not only are most vehicles costing us clean air but rising fuel prices are costing us too. What today's vehicles acquire is an efficient, modern fuel that costs less and pollutes less. That fuel is Natural Gas. It may not be the ultimate fuel of the future.

But until we find one, at least it'll help take us there.

For a free booklet on how you can help the environment by the use of natural gas, call this toll-free number:

1-800-668-1503



Natural Gas.
The Natural Choice.

WEATHERING THE STORM IN CANADA

The financial turmoil that rocked Europe last week was more than an indication of credit worthiness. Attracted by high rates there, foreign investors sold Canadian dollars and bought other currencies. In two days last week, the Canadian dollar tumbled by more than half a cent. That sharp helped push the bond-selling Bank of Canada rate upward for the second week in a row, to its highest level since July 30. Although only a small increase, to 5.34 per cent from 5.14, the upward movement showed that the relatively low interest rates that have prevailed in Canada since last spring are vulnerable to influences that are beyond domestic control. Said Michael Givargy, an economist at the Royal Bank of Canada: "The fundamentals of the Canadian economy have not changed much from

last spring. The precipitating event for these changes was Europe." But by week's end, the Canadian dollar had recovered from its plunge to an eight-year low of 84.70 on Sept. 16, rebounding to close at 84.77 two days later. For their part, Canadian banks decided that the increase in the bank rate was too small to justify a matching move in lending rates for consumers. As a result, economic experts said that both the Canadian dollar and domestic interest rates had weathered the international storm relatively well. They added that despite the looming crisis over the Constitution, Canada still has an international reputation for political stability. That makes it attractive in the long term to foreign investors, many of them looking for safe financial havens. Said Michael Devoreux, professor of economics at the University of British Columbia: "Canada is viewed as a stable place to invest, partly because the Bank of Canada has established a lot of credibility by taking a first shot at inflation. Investors are really more interested in the fundamentals than in short-

NEW FROM INFOMART ON CD: Maclean's

It's
CD-ROMarkable!

- **EXTENSIVE:** Full text of Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine on CD starts with the March, 1988 issues
 - **EASY TO USE:** You gain access to information with a few, easy-to-learn commands
 - **FAST:** Searches in seconds
 - **MANY SEARCH OPTIONS:** Search by topic, headline, byline, edition, local paragraph, or any combination
 - **EXCITING:** Displays state-of-the-art technology developed by Infomart (Infotrac) and OPTIM Corporation (Optima)
 - **COMPATIBLE:** For most IBM-compatible systems
 - **AFFORDABLE:** Just \$199.00 plus \$30.00 shipping and GST (GST INC. WHERE APPLICABLE)
- To order Maclean's on CD or for more information, call Infomart at 1-800-668-9215 or (416) 442-2185



Maclean's
CANADIAN WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

er they were out of step with their voters. French President François Mitterrand, whose personal popularity and that of his ruling Socialist party have plummeted recently, had hoped to avoid a referendum. Under French law, Mitterrand had a choice of notifying Members of a three-fifths majority of a joint National Assembly and Senate session at the palace of Versailles, or by a referendum. Following the Danish voters' rejection of the treaty, Mitterrand, one of its most ardent architects, called for a referendum, predicting that a "yes" vote in

subsidies, and environmental spending in the former East Germany. And in an important symbolic gesture, Kohl's government transferred East Germany's state-owned Ost Berlin into Deutschland on a one-for-one basis.

The resulting cost required the German government to add loads to foreign and domestic investors to cover the massive shortfall. Germany's deficit has grown to 4.5 per cent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1992 from 2.5 per cent before 1980. That has fueled inflation, forcing the Bundesbank to pursue a



London Stock Exchange: chaos in a week when sterling was under fire

France would put Maastricht back on track.

Since then, much of the debate in France has focused on a provision in the treaty that would allow foreigners to vote in local, but not national, elections. The issue is especially sensitive in France because local officials often play a part in national politics. Regional councillors, for one, form part of the electoral college that chooses the Senate. There was also widespread concern that French voters, unhappy with a sluggish economy and rising unemployment, would vote "no" in the Maastricht referendum to punish Mitterrand. "There is no logical reason to vote against Maastricht," said one left representative, no realisation of asymmetry. "A 'no' vote is a vote from the gut."

In Germany, domestic concerns are also affecting the debate over the country's role in Europe. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in November, 1989, Kohl's Christian Democratic government has concentrated its efforts on German reunification. After the wall fell, Kohl promised Germans that Germany, many of them convinced that their prosperity would be supplanted by the poverty of their previously Communist brethren, that his government would not raise taxes to cover such costs as welfare payments,

high-interest rate policy to contain a wage and price spiral. It also meant that Germany was out of step with many other countries, including the United Kingdom and France, which cut their bank and interest rates to fight recession. "It was not a very European position for the Bundesbank to take," said the Dresdner Bank's Schroeder. "But the Bundesbank's position has always been that it is responsible for the Deutschmark, that it was not the central bank for all of Europe."

Still, the U.K. government tried to blame the Bundesbank for the pound's problems. "The discussion in the United Kingdom seems to concentrate on 'the ugly German Bundesbank,'" said Schroeder. Indeed, in the conflict between the two countries' centralised banks, British government spokesmen cited numerous instances where Bundesbank officials had openly speculated that European currencies would have to be realigned. Most recently, the German financial paper *Münchener Post* quoted the Bundesbank's Schlesinger as saying that other changes might have to occur in the wake of the lira's devaluation. The U.K. officials interpreted that as encouraging the markets to bet against the pound—as indeed they did.

Many analysts, however, dismissed the ut-



If we can attract moisture here, think what we can do for your skin.



For years, science has known of a natural compound known as NaPCA, which is so attracted to moisture, dry amounts quickly turn into puddles of water, even in the arid desert. The substance is called NaPCA, and it's found in abundance in healthy

human skin. NaPCA acts as a natural sponge to bind moisture to the skin and keep it from drying out. Unfortunately, our skin's supply of NaPCA diminishes with age. Luckily, Nu Skin

NaPCA in our personal care formulations as a complement to the natural moisturisers already present in the skin. As a result, many have discovered Nu Skin moisturizing agents with

NaPCA attract and hold moisture more effectively than other products they've tried. Discover this moisturizing wonder for yourself. Look into our entire skin care line, along with dozens of other quality products exclusively from Nu Skin.

Nu Skin products are sold only through Independent Distributors. Call (800) 467-2121 for the Distributor nearest you.



NU SKIN®

tempt to press the Germans on the vilification. According to Richard Portes, director of the Centre for Economic Policy Research in London, the Bundesbank's high-interest-rate policy was right for Germany, because of Kohl's inflation-spurring refusal to raise taxes to pay for the costs of unifying Germany. As a result, the bank wanted a relinquishment of European countries to take pressure off itself to lower rates. "The Bundesbank got exactly what it wanted," Portes told *Maclean's* in 1993, he added, the whole affair underlines what everyone knew anyway, that the Bundesbank calls the shots in Europe's financial world.

The British attempt to blame the Bundesbank for the pound's woes, according to some analysts, was a way of trying to divert attention from what has been an economic policy disaster for the British government. For specifics, Lambert and that he would never remove the pound from the altar. Last week, however, he did just that—and, in effect, devalued the pound. At week's end, it had floated down to 2.60 marks from 2.78 the week before. The train was a go again for Major, who took the United Kingdom into the zone in October, 1990, when he was then-Prime Minister Thatcher's finance minister. It also pro-

vided fuel for the fire of the so-called "Euro-skepticism" who means opposed to further integration with Europe. Said William Cash, a Tory MP who is one of the leading Euro-skeptics: "We are in a state of political shambles."

The debate is likely to intensify both in Britain and on the continent as EC members complete today the final steps towards complete economic union and a common currency. Germany's reluctance to relax its high-technology trade barriers against nations like the U.S. and Italy's decision to withdraw from the monetary union align their policies with Germany's, were perhaps the most dramatic examples to date of just how reluctant EC members are to take those final steps.

Still, economists point out that even if European union remains stalled at its current levels, the EC has already achieved a level of economic integration unparalleled among sovereign states anywhere else in the world. In preparation for the completion of the so-called 1992 plan, which will almost certainly go ahead, the EC has created an unprecedented single market. The trading zone created by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is larger, with 370 million potential consumers and \$5.5 trillion in annual GNP, than the EC's 142 million residents and \$4.64-trillion GNP. But the EC has already reached a high level of standardization and harmonization among its member nations. Declared Brian Capeland, an economist who specializes in international trade at the Vancouver-based University of British Columbia, "Europe is taking economic integration further than we are even contemplating."

Capeland added that the EC provides some important lessons for Canada, Mexico and the United States as they go forward with NAFTA. Even though North is primarily concerned with the free movement of goods and services among the three countries, the agreement will force its signatories to examine everything from agricultural policies and environmental issues to income distribution. Said Capeland: "If you start get rid of trade barriers, these other things become unavoidable."

But opening their domestic policies to increased scrutiny is a risk that a growing number of European countries have been daring to take. Austria, Finland, Norway, Sweden and even Switzerland (which has remained aloof to join the EC) have signed on. Hungary and Poland, eager to rebuild their economies after 40 years of Communist rule, also wish to become members of the club.

Before last week's economic crisis, the EC was prepared to admit new member nations as early as 1996. But as the current members grapple with the effects of the latest setback, that timetable could be pushed back for years. For the moment, economic policy-makers in those countries, like the Bundesbank's Schlesinger, are concentrating on problems in their own backyard.

JOHN DACE and BARBARA WICKESMAN
with ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

We now have different strikes against us



It used to be that people with a mental handicap were not allowed to be like everyone else. We didn't let them.

Through organizations like Special Olympics, they now achieve things that we, as a society, never thought they could. In fact, we did everything to bowl them over. Special Olympics provide all mentally handicapped people the opportunities to participate in sports training and competition with whatever degree of skill they can achieve... just like everyone else.

Special Olympics can help every day in every community. As a result we need the help of every volunteer, and we need financial support.

To help us out, please call 1-811-927-4050 or send what you can spare to Canadian Special Olympics Inc., 40 St. Clair Avenue West, Toronto, Ontario, M4V 1M2.

Canadian Special Olympics is a registered charity. All donations are eligible for tax credits.

What?

Test your development IQ!

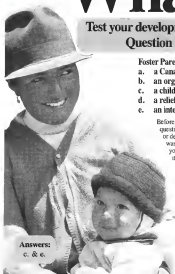
Question 1

Foster Parents Plan is (two correct answers):

- a Canadian adoption agency
- an organization which helps orphans overseas
- a child sponsorship organization
- a relief agency
- an international human development agency

Before you check your answers below, here's another question to think about. Imagine being faced by a sick or deprived child on one hand, and polluted water that was jeopardizing an entire village on the other. If you could help only one of the two—which would it be? Would the compassion and accountability of helping one-to-one win out, or would concern for the greater impact of pollution take precedence? It's a difficult choice. But what if by reaching out to one, you were helping both?

What if, by sponsoring one child, you were enabling a family and community to work toward alleviating their problems and brightening their future? There is so much need in the developing world—and somewhere too, a child who is waiting for you. We have the solutions—all we need is your support to make them work. What can you do? Call or write to begin making a difference today.



Answers:
c. & e.

PLAN
International Development

24 HOUR TOLL-FREE 1-800-268-7174

100 ST. CLAIR AVE. W., TORONTO, ONTARIO M5V 1P9

YES! I want to be a partner in hope to the child in greatest need or, my preferences are AGE GENDER COUNTRY
YES! I am interested, but I would first like some further information. Please send: FREE LOAN VIDEO VHS BETA
I want to help. I don't sponsor one child right now, but would like to make a contribution.

Correspond in French English

NAME

TEL. H

ADDRESS

TEL. B

CITY

PROV

CODE

Please to identify recipient as a Canadian Charitable Organization by the federal government and all donations are eligible for tax credits.

NAME (last, first, middle initial)

Payment method CREDIT CARD

VISA

Payment amount:

- \$ 25 (one month)
\$ 50 (three months)
\$100 (six months)
\$300 (one year)
\$ (contribution)

VISA CARD #

EXPIRY DATE

CARDHOLDER NAME



Blaming Trudeau for our troubles

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

If there is one voice that deserves to be heard in the current referendum debate, it's that of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. No politician is more directly responsible for this country's extended constitutional squy over the past decade.

It was Trudeau who realized his professional dreams by patronizing the British North America Act from London, where it had been quietly reaping in a dusty drawer for 113 years, when he accepted his 1980 constitutional initiative. In that process, it was Trudeau who cast as concrete most of the astounding conflict, such as unconstitutionality and three-year waiting period that killed Meech Lake two years ago, triggering the current constitutional crisis.

During Trudeau's lengthy stewardship, his main priority was to bring home our constitution and create a "new Canada," within which talented Quebecers could enjoy their rightful place. "Trying to retake the neo-federalist status of the French language and culture across the country was the main reason he had entered active politics in the first place. It was his most cherished every point into the public-policy field, and he often expressed the belief that without a vibrant Quebec, Canada wouldn't have any heart and Canadian life would cease."

His crusade to persuade Quebecers that their best chance of surviving as an autonomous society was through a firm alliance with the larger powers of the Canadian nation proved to be the toughest challenge of his political life. Almost as difficult was his task of trying to convince English Canada that Quebec should be granted special consideration, because much of the original 1980 support, especially in Western Canada, was based on the widespread notion that he was the guy who would "put Quebec in its place."

"Language rights" was the instrument Trudeau used to open up the fire rent of the country in 1980. He was the one who transferred through the Official Languages Act, which pro-

hibited any independence, but Quebec was still on the loop.

When Brian Mulroney came along, he had no choice but to pledge that he would close the gap and "bring Quebec back into Canada's constitutional family." That proved to be the most frustrating aspect of the Tory mandate, splitting the country's electorate and wasting the time and energy that might have gone into more useful pursuits.

At every step of the tortuous way, Mulroney's constitutional initiatives have been sabotaged by the burden of his predecessor. Trudeau's reaction has never occurred, instead of helping to bring about the nationwide constitution he himself promised, he has done his best to sabotage both the first and second versions of the Meech Lake accord. His attitude was expressed most succinctly during a March 20, 1988, Senate committee appearance, when he gave one of his magnificent always well-controlled. "I think we have to realize that Canada is not a country that if it is going to go, but it is going with a bang not a whimper." That has been his rallying cry—that Canada is probably destined as a viable country anyway. So let's party.

Although he keeps attacking Meech's dissection society provisions, Trudeau did in fact agree to include in the Constitution's preamble a reference to "the distinct character of Quebec society, rooted in, though not confined to, Quebec." In 1979, he offered to allow the provinces to veto Parliament's authority to launch programs in areas of provincial jurisdiction—a move that went well beyond the shared-cost arrangement of the current version of the deal.

Trudeau has been able to get away with his concerted attacks on the various initiatives undertaken since he left office, despite the fact that they have not been that radically different from what he offered. But these recent proposals have contained all of the constitutional changes in one hefty package, whereas Trudeau's resolutely similar suggestions were dispersed among the many constitutional conferences he chaired while prime minister.

Probably his most harmful legacy was his endorsement of the "nonwithstanding" clause, which allowed Bourassa to implement his 1988 language bill that caused so much understandable bitterness in English Canada. He later admitted that "the Charter is fundamentally flawed because of this onerous clause."

Politics in Canada has always been the art of making the necessary possible. But that process requires that as success a political leader who can mix his greatest gift to inspire with a creative urge to lead. Trudeau always exercised much more often a former than the latter.

This is a time, different from any other, for persistent politics and for longer retrospective policies for former political players. Only with that mix with Trudeau's charming intellect and gritty sense of resolution would cost him his with Canada's future instead of his past.

Pierre Trudeau should be in the spotlight this ultimate battle for the nation's soul. He should be making history that's both inspiring, instead of trying to justify past anguishes.



Maclean's joins the Canadian Special Olympics team . . .

Maclean's is proud to be a sponsor of Canada's Special Olympics, which is dedicated to fostering, throughout each year, the physical, social and psychological development and self-esteem of over 16,000 mentally handicapped Canadians.

and invite your company to take part, too.

Join our team of corporate sponsors and help ensure that this worthwhile cause continues.

For sponsorship information, call Special Olympics collect at (416) 927-9050 and ask for Executive Director Jim Jordan.

He'll show you how your company can get involved and really make a difference.



Mackenzie
The Industrial Group of Funds



TOYOTA

Maclean's
A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co.

SEASON OF DREAMS


**IN BASEBALL'S
FURIOUS FALL,
FANS IN CANADA
WERE HOPING FOR
AN ALL-CANADIAN
WORLD SERIES**

*I am reminded of the story about the baseball fans of Milwaukee, and what they did on a warm fall afternoon, the day after it was announced that Milwaukee was to have a major-league team the next season. According to the story, 10,000 people went to County Stadium that afternoon and sat in the seats and twiddled at the empty playing field—sat in silence, in awe, in wonder, in anticipation, in joy—just knowing that soon the field would come alive with the chatter of spectators bright as bird chirps.—from *Shoeless Joe* by Canadian writer W. P. Kinsella*

Barbed in a love game that young men play for money and older fans seem destined to dream about. The dreams are about green grass, diamond lemons, lightning, baseball, about careers that have risen and sweet nostalgia, innocence. They have spawned a cottage industry of romantic writing and much-hyped films as *The Natural* (based on Bernard Malamud's novel) and *Field of Dreams* (the movie version of *Shoeless Joe*), while the current *A League of Their Own* makes a field for women's dreams, as well. The sport's allure, of course, is lost on many people. And even true believers cannot ignore a buzz-loaded jinx of disillusioned reality: that about salaries, artificial turf, a pace sometimes so slow that spectators require constant refills of beer and candy. Yet the dreamers dream on. And as the season slides into its famous fall percent drive, baseball fans in Canada are permuting themselves a dream of their own: an all-Canadian World Series.

As possible dream?

No, possibly impossible, and once in a while dreams do come true. After all, who would have predicted that Montreal and Atlanta, two teams that finished last last in their divisions in 1990, would stage last year's World Series win? And last week, the league's two



Jays Roberto Alomar (left) and Manuel Lee; Expo Larry Walker (opposite): sassy double plays, nail-biting ninth innings

Canadian entries were certainly in striking distance of the Fall Classic, which neither of them has ever reached. The Toronto Blue Jays, the team that captured the American League East crown last year only to suffer a Twin brounce in the playoffs, also stop its dream again, while the upstart Montreal Expos were making life miserable for the National League East-leading Pittsburgh Pirates.

There is another kind of dreamer if the Canadian club heart up in the stretch, they could give nightmares to executives at sea, which televises the World Series and cannot recall the prospect of America's national pastime sloping its shoulders even early in the great interdependent North. "There are only two markets they would like to see, Los Angeles and New York," says Buck Martinez, broadcaster for TSN, the Toronto-based, all-sports network. But, adds Martinez, a former Jays catcher. "There's nothing they can do about it. And I think it would be good for baseball if two Canadian teams got into it."

It is the Blue Jays who bear the burden of great Canadian expectations. Beaten up by free-agent acquisitions and injuries, the Jays will know that, to satisfy their frustrated fans, they must at least reach the World Series (page 50). And Jays fans are legion: enough of them

will spin SkyDome turnstiles this year to break the all-time, single-season attendance record of more than 4 million—which the Jays set in 1990. Nor is the Jays' support confined to the Toronto area. In a Gallup poll conducted last month, 57 per cent of Canadian respondents said that they prefer the Blue Jays, while only 21 per cent backed the Expos.

But the Expos have something the Jays do not have: the thrill of beating the odds (page 52). In 1991, a locomotive-size bank of concrete crashed down from Olympic Stadium, a fitting symbol for a team that plunged to the bottom of its division. Home attendance dropped below a million (compared with a high of 2.3 million in 1983), leaving a clear and present danger that Montreal might lose the franchise. That year, however, the club has succeeded on the field with little high-priced help—the payroll is \$19 million, compared with \$55 million for the Jays—while attendance should reach 1.7 million, enough to turn a small profit. "It isn't exactly the kind of investment your stockbroker would recommend," says Claude Brochu, the Expos' president. "But we're not in this for the money, obviously. We're in it for the love of the game."

The Expos are not the only team with many troubles. Only such major-market high rollers

as the Blue Jays can keep pace with the rising cycle of salaries—more average players now earn \$1 million a year. The team owners—who down up those salaries in the first place—are girding for a possible off-season showdown with the players union that could even lead to a lockout—in other words, no major-league baseball next year. To prepare for that battle, the owners forced the negotiation early this month of baseball commissioner Fay Vincent, who had resisted their two last tactics, and are now governing the game through their executive council. One looming task to negotiate a new television deal to replace the four-year, \$1.7-billion contract with CBS and ESPN, which expires next year and has helped to underwrite the players' salary bonanza.

Yet for baseball dreamers, even the clutter of commerce cannot diminish the magic of the grand old game. Spectacular catches, sly double plays, and bring them straight—that is the stuff of the dream drive. It is the time when some dreams die and others go gloriously on to October—when, if the players are properly signed and the pitching holds up, two Canadian teams might still be chasing pennants even as others are chasing pucks.

BOB LEVIN



Martin: 10 successive election victories and 33 years in the House of Commons

OBITUARY

A Canadian hero

'Is there anybody here from Windsor?'

He was the gregarious home-town boy and during nearly 40 years in the corridors of power, working his undeniable charm on kings, presidents and prime ministers, he was the acknowledged behind-the-scenes for the Ontario autonomy of Windsor. And when Paul Martin died last week at age 88, the devoted service at Assumption Roman Catholic Church drew more than a thousand people more, some said, than had ever attended a funeral in Windsor. There were cabinet ministers and a plenitude of senators and MPs from Ottawa, but the most intimate memories were shared by the people who gave Martin 18 successive election victories and 33 years on the Liberal benches in the House of Commons. Rose Mary Valasek, for more than 30 years a next-door neighbor on Devonshire Road, said that she had had 10 children and Martin sent her a card after every one. Said 78-year-old Kay McAdams, a friend for more than half a century: "Paul never forgot a face or a name."

It was unlikely that Windsor—or the country itself—would forget Paul Martin, among the list of the old-fashioned federal politicians who knew their time spent aggraving voters in a local barter shop guaranteed more votes than campaigns on a grand scale. His political skills were acknowledged by four prime ministers,

during his 33 years in the Commons and six in the Senate, to which then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau appointed him in 1968. Martin spent 23 years as a cabinet minister—longer than anyone in the Commonwealth except former prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King and British prime ministers David Lloyd George and Robert Walpole. His friends often claimed that he knew 50,000 people by name. Martin registered: "I've met everybody there it is meet."

But Martin's achievements went well beyond winning elections. In 1974, then health minister in the St. Laurent government and credited of his own childhood fight against crippling polio, he persuaded the prime minister to allow the Canadian manufacture of just-discovered Salk polio vaccine before the United States completed tests to make sure it was safe. By the time the vaccine was cleared for use, Canada had enough stockpiled to vaccinate 800,000 people.

In 1985, in his fifth term as head of the Canadian delegation to the United Nations, Martin's resolution of an East-West deadlock over new members led to the admission of 16 nations. In 1994, he proposed the formation of a United Nations peacekeeping force for Cyprus with Canada as a member. Yet wherever he went and whatever the mission, he was apt

to look around a crowded room and ask: "Is there anybody here from Windsor?"

The industrial border city was an inseparable part of the man. He claimed to have found people from Windsor just about everywhere, he had been "except in Moscow, I didn't ask there." During a dinner following a seminar at Boston's Leeds University, a waitress leaned over and whispered, "I used to live in Windsor and you know my uncle Bill Dumas." Martin did. In 1974, Martin left the Senate to become Canadian High Commissioner to Britain—but Windsor was not far behind. "I often think Trafalgar Square is the centre of the world," he said at one point. "That, and Ouellette Avenue [Windsor's main street]."

Martin was raised in Penetanguishen, Ont., the eldest of 11 children born to a nearly impoverished grocery clerk of Irish descent and his French-Canadian wife, but Windsor became his home when he got a summer job at a race track there. One day in 1926, he went into a drugstore to buy a cigar and overheard the wretched pianist who said she would never marry. "Yes, you will," interpreted Martin. "You will marry me." He and Eleanor (Nell) Adams were two years later. They had two children, including Paul Jr., now a Liberal MP from Montreal.

They eventually bought a Windsor mansion built by a businessman in the Prohibition-era 1920s which, as the years passed, became filled with books and signed photographs—the Queens, former prime minister Lester Pearson, the Queen Mother, the Shah of Iran, composer Irving Berlin, Martin with former presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson.

In 1979, one of his last acts as high commissioner was to be chauffeured to Buckingham Palace, wearing the same morning suit he wore at his wedding in 1927, to say goodbye to the Queen. But it was not fare-it was not, Martin began working on a two-volume autobiography, *A Very Public Life* published in 1983 and 1985.

In the closing years of his life, Martin was frequently outgated by political leaders—and still less. At a reception in 1983, then-Prime Minister Trudeau, one of the two men who defected Martin to cross for the Liberal party leadership—the other was Pearson—urged that "delivering a speech in the presence of Paul Martin makes me feel like an amateur staging before Pinocchio." And when he died, Martin's friends the tradition of a state funeral of all parties. Old comrades remembered, too: Former transport minister Jack Pickens, 87, and riding at his Ottawa home, said of Martin: "His life was a large slice of the history of Canada in the 20th century and he was perhaps the greatest dealer of it up to us."

Early in his career, Martin made a choice between wealth and politics and evidently never regretted his decision. "I do not deny that I am a politician," he once said. "There is nothing sinister about being a politician. Next to the preaching of the word of God, there is nothing nobler than the art of politics." Nor was an industrial practitioner of its elements than Paul Martin.

DAK CORRELL

Harry Brearley isn't exactly a household name. But in 1914 this industrious Englishman introduced a remarkable rust-proof product that today is found in almost every Canadian home. And it was he who first coined the familiar term "stainless steel."

Since its initial use in cutlery, Inco nicked his made stainless steel stainless. What's more, as a world leader in nickel production, our nickel-knowledge has put it to good work in a host of applications.



Stainless steel is preferred in kitchens are primarily because it's exceptionally hygienic and won't transfer food tastes or odours. Though its intrinsic durability has made its uses virtually endless. Like architecture, deep-sea subs, jet engines, spacecraft—to name just a few.

At Inco, we explore many fields to come up with innovative uses for the metals we mine and produce. And no doubt in the years ahead we'll be bringing still more good ideas to the table.

WE'VE BEEN
ON THE TIP OF YOUR TONGUE
FOR OVER 75 YEARS.

Inco

STRONGER FOR OUR EXPERIENCE

The voice of Canada

The dean of English print journalism dies

If English print journalism in Canada can boast of a dove and mentor, it had to be Bruce Hatcher, the crusty Victoria newspaperman who died last week at 86. Born in Princeton, Ont., near Ottawa, he began his career in 1918 as a reporter for the *Victoria Daily Times* and later worked as a junior reporter in the Ottawa press gallery. He spent most of his professional life with the *Windsor Free Press*, the *Victoria Daily Times* (where he became editor) and the *Vancouver Sun*. Less a voice of the West than a voice of Canada, he had occasional prominence as author of *The Outlaw Country*, the 1943 best-seller that came as close as any text to defining Canada's identity.

His 1953 biography of prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King (*The Inevitable Canadian*) and containing studies of political leaders stood as watershed works, but it was his six decades of daily and weekly columns that will be his most lasting monument. His talent was to draw large conclusions from small events, and his graceful literary style helped obliterate the distance that usually separates a journalist from his subjects.

"I wrote," he once told me, "because in a lifetime of at least 2,000 years, as time should be reckoned, I may have learned something about the world within it. A Canadian, grown and quite unbelievable in most of its contemporary imbalances, together with certain men who made it and outside it, these consequences, good and bad, still unknown today." While he had an abiding faith in the reasonableness of ordinary citizens, he also believed that the assumption of power endows the elements in an individual's character, so that he or she becomes both a part of and a contributor to the mystique that surrounds high political office.

Perhaps Hatcher's most enduring quality was his almost physical affection for Canada, a passionate love affair that colored everything he said and wrote. He was kind and generous to junior colleagues, listening them cordially on the periphery of those shortighted enough not to share his vision of the country, but he never

told himself as seriously as his guest.

Hatcher liked to be part of the inner circle, and it must have been a badge of honor for him when, on July 1, Brian Mulroney appointed him to the Privy Council, even though he had been a



Hatcher: a love for Canada that colored everything he wrote

close friend of four Liberal prime ministers.

During Expo 67 in Montreal, he was granted the rare privilege of showing the hazy, halcyon past to the Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson. When Dean Acheson, the distinguished former U.S. secretary of state (who happened also to be a buddy of Hatcher's), dropped in for a visit, the two men toured the exposition together. They were having a jolly time, only to be interrupted by a bright-eyed Englishwoman who had misheard the American diplomat for former British prime minister Anthony Eden. She rushed up and demanded that Acheson autograph the latest volume of Eden's memoirs, which he did with a flourish with what he thought Eden's signature might look like, printing out to him journalist friend that he couldn't bear to displease a loyal subject of the Queen.

What tickled Hatcher most from his day

with Acheson was that the two of them, being certified sons, were smuggled into most of the exhibits through back doors, bypassing the crush of the crowd. "This," Acheson whispered to Hatcher, as they were waiting into yet another besieged pavilion, "this is privilege, and privilege is needed. Still we learn to endure it." It was a sentiment Hatcher could relate to.

Bruce and I laughed often when I lived in Victoria and we always managed to settle the country's problems between the jilted commoner and the chaser. He was perpetually angry with my politics, bold enough to protest he could run Canada, yet he also had a deep sympathy for just how tough a country it was to govern. In his last years, he established a remarkable rapport with Mulroney. And he was the last writer I knew who stayed loyal to his Underwood upright typewriter, never switching to computer country—was even changing ribbons in his machine, as far as I could tell.

A tidy and methodical man, he kept in shape by cutting down into fireplace logs at his beloved cottage on Shuswap Lake, near Victoria. He collected the logs in separate piles, according to when they were split, and found other uses for them as well. When a visitor, on one occasion, tried to help carry a few bits of wood into his cottage and happened to take them off what looked to be a stack like any other, Hatcher, ejected because the wood was not sufficiently dry. "Don't take those," he instructed. "Dot (his wife and soul mate, Dorothy, who died in 1969) will just burn them up."

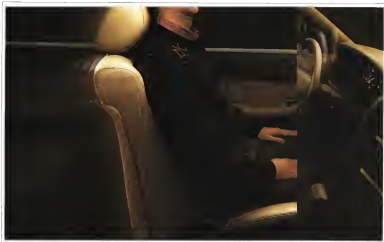
In his writing, Hatcher had a remarkable ability to evoke character studies out of flash glimpses of tiny gestures. There was, as one example, his description of Alberta Social Credit premier Peter Lougheed, who sat in an elegant chair, leaning elegantly, like Dickens's baronet, Miss DeLarge, at the Paris revolutionary guillotine, slouching indignantly. "Now, now, William," whenever her husband lost his temper. He loved Lester Pearson, hated John Diefenbaker, admired Mulroney and became one of the *Menzies* side's fiercest defenders.

Conscientiously, he wrote his last column for the weekend edition of the *Sun* only a few weeks before he died at his home, and in the year before he died Hatcher published two books. Bruce Hatcher was one of a kind, and his passing diminishes both our craft and our country.

PETER G. NEWMAN

THE SEAL OF EXCELLENCE

It took 90 scripts prepared in the final tradition with Grand Marnier, writer Grand Marnier, P.O. Box 187, Toronto, Ontario M4M 3G7



Driving A Lexus Is An Experience You'll Ever Forget. Remarkably, The Car Won't Forget Either.

Described as "a technological tour de force," the Lexus LS 400 luxury performance sedan fairly bristles with a myriad of features designed to enhance your comfort, confidence

and control. Our engineers, obviously, have thought of almost everything. What sets the LS 400 apart, however, is that the car does quite a bit of thinking of its own

A total of no less than nine separate computers are on board, monitoring everything

from the music selected on your favorite CD to the fuel/air mixture in the engine. The Lexus Anti-lock Braking System utilizes computers to make it one of the most advanced in the world. These same computers are integral to TRAC, the traction control system which automatically corrects wheel spins even on wet or icy roads. But computers are also at work in places you might not expect to find them.

Take the driver's seat, for instance. Not only is it orthopedically designed and clad in the finest leathers, but with the Lexus Memory System the most comfortable position for yourself and another driver can be pre-set and retrieved at the touch of a button. The same is true for the outside

mirrors, shoulder belt anchor—even the power-folding, telescoping steering column.

The LS 400 also remembers the interior cabin temperature you prefer. One of the world's quietest, most advanced heating and air conditioning systems allows you to set the desired temperature, and forget about it. The system then automatically monitors and adjusts the climate on a year-round basis.

A host of further innovations await, if you'll just call us at 1-800-26-LEXUS for the name of the dealer nearest you. A test drive could prove a truly memorable event.


LEXUS
The Relentless Pursuit Of Perfection.



“Thanks to my Calling Card, I lost 3½ lbs of unsightly bulges. I used to carry enough change to choke a pop machine. Then a friend told me about B.C.Tel’s Long Distance Calling Card and a huge weight was lifted from my hips. I don’t pay a subscription fee to carry my Calling Card. And it allows me to dial direct in most situations so I can also save money. I can even offer preferred clients a Call-Me Card that allows them to call me hassle-free. But above all, now I know what it feels like to walk through an airport metal detector in silence.”



BCTEL
811-2828



Crystal (left), Warner: outbursts of comic cruelty and plenty of sentiment

FILMS

Jesters and jurors

Three movies offer killers and a comedian

Three of the most talked-about movies of the 35-day Festival of Toronto, which ended in Toronto last week, are now opening in theatres. They include a *Hamilton* movie about comic ambition by a Hollywood star (Mr. Saturday Night), a disturbing criminal-mystery by a Quebec filmmaker (Léolo) and a provocative reinterpretation of a classic murder case by a novice director (Swoon).

MR. SATURDAY NIGHT
Directed by Billy Crystal

Bobby Young Jr. is a Borzoi-Belt comedian of the old school, a veteran from the place where the Canadian comedy circuit spilled into the early days of live television. Billy Crystal creates a character 18 years ago, then made him a fixture on TV's *Saturday Night Live*. Now he has given Bobby Young Jr. a full-blown Hollywood life story in *Mr. Saturday Night*. As if it were not enough to work as co-writer, director, producer and star, Crystal had his character age 40 years over the course of the movie. He spent half the shoot excused in using alcohol that took five hours of tedious application each day, beginning at 2 a.m. The result of a one-man show-business demolition, *Mr. Saturday Night* is a remarkable feat. And, although the sentiment is sometimes called as cliché as the latex on Crystal's face, it is also funny, well-acted and richly entertaining.

The story is framed by flashbacks, but most of it takes place in the present, with the 73-year-old Bobby struggling to salvage a washed-up career. The drama focuses on the comedian's relationship with his brother and lifelong manager, Sam (David Paymer), who becomes increasingly frustrated with Bobby's habit of sabotaging his own career with outbursts of comic cruelty. As a straight act on a new late, Paymer gives a brilliant performance. Julie Warner is wasted as a posh socialite as Bobby's dilette wife. But towards the end, Helen Hunt, playing an agent who comes to Bobby's rescue, pitches some dazzling comic—and dramatic—reel.

At times, *Mr. Saturday Night* is as rocky as Bobby's career. But there are more laughs in just the first few minutes than most comedies offer by the closing credits. Unlike Bob Hope, his predecessor as host of the Academy Awards, Crystal has proven that he is much more than a comedian. And for the first time, he may find his own voice among the Oscar nominees next year.

LEOLO
Directed by Jean-Claude Lauzon

If prison, intertextual coming-of-age stories are the bane of Canadian movies, Quebec director Jean-Claude Lauzon has picked the wisest, childhood lesson that is poetic,

paragat and interesting. Set in the working-class district in Montreal's east end where Lauro grew up, *Léolo* dissolves the boundary between autobiography and surreal fantasy—a portrait of the artist as a delusional dreamer. Léolo (Olivier Gauthier) is a 12-year-old French Canadian who insists that he was conceived when his mother laid on a tomato doctored in the sperm of a *Salicorne* (pencil). His imagination becomes a refuge from a family obsessed with bodily functions. The boy's father trusts the bedroom as a shrine, administering weekly lectures like chemistry lessons. His slow-witted brother shoves up a third ego by becoming a bodybuilder. His two sisters disappear into mental illness. And his grandfather reveals his psychosis by trying to drown Léolo in a plastic washing pool.

Pressing over it all is Léolo's mother, a fragile, mobile presence played by Quebec singer Ginette Reno. And so the fringes, a mysterious literary survivor (directly played by Quebec novelist and poet Pierre Bourgeois) fishes Léolo's poetic scribbles out of the garbage.

Exquisitely photographed, the movie unfolds as a series of episodic visions, propelled by music that ranges from Acoustic drums to choral drags, from Toot Toot to The Rolling Stones. Léolo is sometimes funny, sometimes shocking—and almost disturbing. Laying himself open to charges of self-indulgence, Lauzon displays a combination of extremes that is usually seen only in novels. The mere existence of *Léolo*, which seems to reflect his imagination so directly, is a cinematic miracle.

SWOON
Directed by Tim Kalin

It was a famous murder case: In 1934, Nathan Leopold Jr. and Richard Loeb, two upper-class Jewish teenagers, abducted and murdered a young girl in Chicago. Legendary defense lawyer Clarence Darrow won them from the gallows by arguing that their homosexuality was a pathology. Leopold and Loeb received life sentences. And their case became the subject of two movies, Alfred Hitchcock's *Rope* (1949) and *Crucifixion* (1956), starring Orson Welles. Now, American director Tim Kalin explores the story from a fresh angle as Simon, a low-budget feature debut that displays a strong talent but lacks an unsettling impression.

Kalin treats the crime as a story of obsession. He crafts a chilling, disturbing portrait of the killers (Craig Chester) and Leah (Daniel Schachtel), while circumventing the 1930s society that breeds them "perverts." His icy portrayal of the killers seems sympathetic by default. Meanwhile, shooting in high-contrast black and white, Kalin makes such a lethal of visual style that the film begins to resemble an animated *Calvin Kates* (whatsoever).

A movie so consumed with its own rhetoric, Simon replicates the old homosexual stereotype of the Leopold-Loeb case with a new one: narcissism.

ERIAN D. JOHNSON

The soulless society

An author savages a world run by technocrats

VOLTAIRE'S BASTARDS:
THE DICTATORSHIP OF
TECHNOLOGY IN THE WEST
By John Ralston Saul
(Viking, £40, pages, 325)

John Ralston Saul's *Voltaire's Bastards: The Dictatorship of Technology in the West* may be one of those rare books that change the way society sees itself. His brilliant polemic delivers a broadside against the dominant elites of Western culture, claiming that they have betrayed the very societies they were meant to serve. Few

as a social warning on the path of decline.

Saul, 44, has the kind of broad learning and experience that is becoming increasingly rare in a world dominated by experts. The Toronto-based author holds a PhD in history from King's College, London, and has worked as an oil executive. But he is best known as a writer of thrillers (The Parasite Factor is his most recent novel) with a considerable knowledge of African and Asian cultures. In *Voltaire's Bastards*, he focuses on the great 18th-century French writer Voltaire as one of the seminal critics of the modern era. In works of soaring clarity and penetration, Voltaire used reason to help sweep away superstitions and tyrannical structures (including absolute monarchy) inherited from the past.

But, Saul argues, reason eventually became an end in itself. Gradually, the technocratic concern for the public welfare that had driven Voltaire and similar reformers was forgotten. In its place, various interest groups have built up huge mutual simulators whose sole aim is to bend power. They use reason not for human liberation but to create systems that only technocrats, the experts Saul calls "Voltaire's Bastards," can understand and manipulate.

Saul says that the phenomenon is so widespread that society is in danger of collapsing from its own, soulless addiction to technocratic methods. Ignoring common sense and the real needs of the people, technocrats frequently pursue unwieldy solutions that are successful only in the hollow atmosphere of their own planning rooms. For Saul, one of the century's chief representative technocrats is Robert McNamara, the Detroit auto executive who was secretary of defense under presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

An optimistic believer in rational systems, McNamara recognized the U.S. armed forces had turned them into the bureaucracy-driven colossus that lost the Vietnam War. Saul argues that McNamara's and pursuit of rational deterrence helped to fuel the nuclear arms race, while other policies were an unintentional cause of the generational arms trade. Later, working for the World Bank, McNamara championed supposedly rational schemes that led to the Third World debt crisis. As Saul points out, Mc-

Namara was a devout man who attended good. But many of his major mistakes were arguably disasters—results that must have puzzled him. Saul writes, because "I want to what the charts and briefing books said would happen."

What McNamara lacked was a sense of history and a feel for reality—for the way in which the real world actually works. Saul suggests: *Voltaire's Bastards* offers an astounding feast of similar examples. The author writes about lawyers and academics who have ennobled themselves to accuse that the public is excluded from participating significantly in the law, and in the subversion of its own culture. He describes senior civil servants whose control of information has effectively taken policy-making out of the hands of the elected politicians—and weakened democracy. And he evokes business leaders who use technocratic double-speak to justify covering their faces to the Third World—while attempting to hide the fact that, in Saul's view, they are simply betraying their own societies.

Few of the criticisms are new. Many people have made them, in less eloquent terms, when grumbling about the power-elite. But by defining those complaints, Saul has created a useful perspective for understanding the weaknesses of a society that seems increasingly without belief or direction.

Voltaire's Bastards is a plea for the return of compassion, common sense—and the concerned individual citizen—to the centre of the public drama. Doubtless, Voltaire would approve.

JOHN BERNARD

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Shogun's Planet, Captive* (1)
- 2 *The Children of Men, Jones* (5)
- 3 *Good Bones, Atwood*
- 4 *Baroque in Vain, Morison* (2)
- 5 *The English Patient, Ondaatje*
- 6 *The Wilson Love, Sving* (4)
- 7 *Gerard's Game, King* (3)
- 8 *The Secret History, Tartt*
- 9 *A Song for Johnson, Jay* (7)
- 10 *Where is My Heart? Butler* (6)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Wealth Without Risk for Canadians, Gores* (1)
- 2 *Surviving Things, Hemel*
- 3 *The Most Powerful, Sherry* (3)
- 4 *Stolen Childhood, Wright* (5)
- 5 *Niggers, Berman*
- 6 *Deppie, Plutarch and Webster* (2)
- 7 *Revolution from Within, Berman* (4)
- 8 *The Culture of Contentment, Giddens* (7)
- 9 *Talk, Talk, Talk, Newman*
- 10 *Canada 1992, Graham* (8)

(1) *Positives* last week

Compiled by Brian Belliveau



If you think these questions are tough, wait till your child asks, "Why can't I drink?"

Curiosity about alcohol can start as early as preteen years. Your children will look to you for answers.

"How To Talk About Alcohol" is a free Seagram program designed for parents of preteens by Education Development Center. The easy-to-follow audiocassette and handbook are packed with facts and tips: what your youngsters should know about alcohol, how to reach them, peer pressure and other difficult situations they may face.

Give your children a good start with our preteen program. It's free and it's important.

Send for your free kit
"HOW TO TALK ABOUT ALCOHOL"

Call toll-free
1-800-263-4796

Or write
Seagram Canada, P.O. Box 847, Station H,
Montreal, Quebec H3G 2M8



Saul: elites are blind to people's needs

groups that hold real power escape Saul's attack. Lawyers, businessmen, politicians, the media and bureaucrats are all guilty, Saul maintains, of building up exclusive, self-serving elites that are blind to the real needs of ordinary citizens. *Voltaire's Bastards* is as angry book, but it is also a meticulously researched and argued one. It will either make a difference in the way society works—or at least

Seagram Canada

Paul Martin's true legacy

BY STEWART MacLEOD

The downside of this column is that it causes a host of much personalization. The upside is it completely avoids any use of the dreaded C word.

We basically want to talk about Paul Martin. Our beloved, demanding and often-delightful politician who did his best work at 65. But it won't be a very serious talk. That's been well looked after by others.

Don't know about you, but when we're had an association with any major public figure, and that person passes on, there's invariably one outstanding occasion that springs to mind. It happened when John Diefenbaker went abroad, and there was the carefree collection of a Sunday afternoon on the CBC Edmonton Trail when he took us to his old staidy home, now a stable, and pointed to the corner where he slept. It was now no kidding, a roomer. Wow, that man was an exquisite personality when standing in the wind belts. Never to be forgotten.

And when Lester Pearson led us by car, it was about his first trip through Northern Ontario, running three or four hours late, as the prime minister stopped down on every platform to shake hands. The next stop—Mama Pearson—was going to be his wife's wedding and Pearson suggested they keep going. "Who in the world is going to stay up in the mid at 1 a.m. when they don't even know we'll stop?" He wanted bed.

But his advisers insisted. So the poor man sat there for an hour, staring at the rain, until the train pulled up at the platform. He jumped out promptly to the resounding applause of seven rows, all soaking wet.

Back on board, he revealed a slight, polite-yet-sobering "See, I said it would be a waste of time. God, seven people."

"More than that, sir," said his RCMP bodyguard, "four of them were ours."

Pearson broke up. Had a nightmare and checked his way to bed.

After Pearson's death in an accident

He had a delicious sense of humor. The giveaway was the slight heaving of his stomach; he was laughing inside.

Now to the Rt. Hon. Paul Martin. And so we're not going to whisper with the legacy of legends, either back by an awarded life, the remarkable man. Who would want to risk stating that carefree tale about every Ottawa hotel being cleared out of roses in 1980 so that some 2,000 disoriented Gentils in Windsor would have a very special personal experience, plucked straight from the cockpit of Maclean's? Martin like that, which include gifts of roses, plucked straight from the Pope, are better left unsung and unspoken. History deserves a smile.

But there was little to smile about so that 1980 day when the good senator trooped this poor quivering wreck in an ornate parlour, two courteous men for the world's worst news conference.

That is the personal memory that will never ever be erased. In fact, it focuses the mind whenever someone says—and people do—that you must have a lot of fun in your job. Not that day.

See, being a reporter, you do what your editor tells you. Not a lot like a columnist who can usually avoid unappealing events and has total freedom to write him/herself out of a job.

Anyway, the order was to attend a news conference that Senator Martin had organized for a group of visiting dignitaries. No further information at the moment. And when we entered the room exactly on time, the six dignitaries were seated on a low stage, sitting in some unattractive language, and before them were 30 chairs for the media.

Every single one was empty. A reporter's worst nightmare. Indescribable torture. Encouraging ourselves for the bathroom, we ran up to the press gallery in a desperate search for a few warm bodies. Since we were in the midst of the 11:30 crisis, it's not difficult to imagine the responses. As recalled, they ranged from "you've got to be kidding," to "are you out of your bloody mind?" These people knew who Senator Martin was hosting—the Polish government in exile. So, since we returned to our seats, well.

Now, the weather with all his other attributes, had a delicious sense of humor. And the giveaway to his machismo was not in his face, but in the slight heaving of his stomach, meaning he was laughing inside. Now it was beginning to rain.

"Goodness," he began, "I know you're tired after a long flight, and rather than subject you to a large group of reporters, I decided it would be easier on you if we just had one. You see, this reporter works his staff all across the country, so there is no need for duplications."

"Then, to say it all, he declared that he chose a reporter who 'has always indicated a keen interest in your activities.' Boy, could that man keep a straight face. His stomach was bouncing like a basketball.

"So, the floor is open to our distinguished journalists."

If only the floor would actually open! There was a devastating silence.

Finally, "Why are you here?" not having the faintest idea from whence they came.

"Because Senator Martin invited us." That killed three seconds.

"How do you like our Canadian food?"

"Sweetest had a meal." Another three.

"These gentlemen," the senator said, by way of avoiding another devastating silence, "can perhaps give you news about Mr. . . ."

As the reliable name was in more lenient than any obscure medical manuscript.

"Oh yes, how's he doing?" The answer was that they hadn't seen the man since they left Warsaw in 1939. But, yes, they had continuing underground reports.

The quip went on for seemingly seven hours, but in reality it was probably 30 into dry—usually bleak or an intelligent question. Finally, the senator took pity and said, "Let's continue in a more relaxed atmosphere around the buffet table." At the first opportunity, the promoter dashed for the door, followed by the press secretary. "So glad you could come," he said. "Whenever we get another invited guest, you'll be the very first to leave."

He returned to his guests, his whole body happily heaving.

Stewart MacLeod is Ottawa columnist for Thompson's News Service.

DEMAND IT.

The Hitachi VCR. It's built to perform the way you expect. The brilliant picture and sound. The unbeatable versatility. The unmatched quality.

At Hitachi we know you want the best. That's why we build our VCRs with extraordinary features like microphone video heads, auto head cleaning, and our

advanced remote controls. All the latest technology to give you the best home video system possible.

Because when it comes to performance, you should demand the best, and nothing less. The Hitachi VCR. Demand it.

For more information phone 1-800-HITACHI.



Super VHS Hi-Fi Stereo Sound, Programmable Synchro Editing and Auto Head Cleaning.

HITACHI
Exceptional Performance

THE 31ST UNWRITTEN LAW
OF DRIVING

INTRODUCE A
NEW VEHICLE
AND THERE'S
BOUND TO BE A
COMPARISON.



The New Isuzu Trooper

"MORE SPACIOUS AND LUXURIOUS than the Jeep Grand Cherokee; more sporting to drive than the Ford Explorer."

Automobile Magazine, July '92

"A LUXURY PACKAGE that will be the envy of others for its completeness. What's that sound? Eddie Bauer grinding his teeth?"

Four Wheeler, May '92

"AN EXPANSIVE CABIN offers comfy seating for five big folks plus luggage space that will make a Range Rover buyer try to change the subject."

Car and Driver, April '92

"...THE TROOPER is firmly at the top of this crowded class."

Road & Track, June '92

FOR YOUR NEAREST SATURN SAAB ISUZU DEALER, PLEASE CALL 1-800-263-1999.

1-800-263-1999


ISUZU
Practically/Amazing

Vehicle colour shown is not available in 1993